

AMERICAN OPINION

In this number

EUROPEAN SURVEY

William S. Schlamm

REPUBLICS and DEMOCRACIES

By The Editor

THE ANATOMY OF LIBERALISM

S. E. D. Brown

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CONTENTS — OCTOBER, 1961

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|----|
| European Survey | William S. Schlamm | 1 |
| Republics and Democracies | | 7 |
| Looking Both Ways | | 34 |
| The Anatomy Of Liberalism | S. E. D. Brown | 35 |
| A Review Of The News | | 45 |
| Bullets | | 50 |

October 6, 1961

Dear Reader:

Mr. Schlamm's *European Survey* in this issue deals entirely with Berlin and Germany.

This is partly because Mr. Schlamm, although a very patriotic American citizen, is of German origin, and naturally emphasizes the importance of Germany in the present state of world affairs.

It is partly because the "German question" actually is so preponderantly important. The Germans, blinded to their own best interests and duties by the doublecrossing our government has dealt them ever since 1945—when Harry Dexter White picked the "cream" of our occupation personnel — really may move politically eastward. If so, then — as Mr. Schlamm fears — our only possible ally of any real strength in the ultimate fight against Communist enslavement will be gone.

So we have no quarrel with Mr. Schlamm over his sense of values. But we have a lot of quarrel with ourselves over the terrible inadequacy of this little magazine even to outline the surrender to Communism now being promoted by our government in every part of the world. The pretense that Romulo Betancourt is not a Communist, that Ngo dinh Diem is trying to save South Vietnam from Communism, that the United Nations is anything but an instrumentality of Communist global conquest; these and dozens of similar criminal absurdities are just as ultimately disastrous to America as the current glorification of wily Willy Brandt.

We may look to you — as we do to ourselves — like a little boy trying to move the Sahara Desert with a sand bucket. Actually we are doing our best to give you a few grains of truth against the mountains of lies rolled up by the huge winds of Communist propaganda. And we shall increase the size and number of those grains as soon and as much as we can.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

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EUROPEAN SURVEY

by

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Mailed from Munich, October 5, 1961

This article is quite important. We think there is more encouragement as to the eventual resistance of the German people, in the rising political strength shown by the Mende-Erhard Free Democratic Party in the September elections, than does Mr. Schlamm. We think there is similar encouragement in the fact that even all of the prestige of the Washington administration and the personal intervention of our Vice President could not give greater gains to Willy Brandt. But we admit that our attitude consists of grasping at hope for the future. Mr. Schlamm is dealing with the realities of the present. And those realities make clear that there may not be any future so far as a free West Germany is concerned.

NINE MONTHS after he came to power John F. Kennedy was presiding over the dismemberment of America's great alliances. This is what the pedestrian kind of historians will write about 1961, the year of ultimate American tragedy. However, the more lively kind of historians will say that, after only nine months in power, young Kennedy yielded his marbles, quit the game, and simply went home to Massachusetts.

One had to travel the month of September 1961 throughout incredulous Europe to grasp the depth of America's fall. That month I visited Italy, Germany, Austria, Greece, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Turkey, and Cyprus. In these nine countries I met not a single person who had an illusion left about the power, or the prospects, of the United States. And since I started writing this Survey I keep wondering, desperately, what words to use in order to convey to you, my readers in the United States,

the finality and the size of our catastrophe. I feel like giving up. How, indeed, could I impress a healthy citizen of the mighty United States, who senses around him the physical vigor and the throbbing vitality of America, that his country has lost abroad face, status, confidence, and even its very name? For decent people, in Europe, compassionately, refuse even to talk about America. Having pinned their grateful hopes for the last twenty years to the American flag, now they do not want to haul it down. They hide their faces in silent shame.

And yet, though one avoids mentioning the United States (just as plain decency lets one shut up near a deathbed), all European motions are dominated by the collapse of the American position. Nothing else matters. The climactic day was, of course, August 13, 1961, when the Soviets, in mocking violation of the Four-Powers

European Survey

Agreement of 1945, clamped down on East Berlin — and the Government of the United States responded with rigid paralysis. That day—August 13, 1961—will be marked in history as the Waterloo of the Cold War.

The Background Of Berlin . . .

Let us recapitulate the essentials of the Berlin situation. Sixteen years ago, when the Allies stupidly allowed the Soviets to get to Berlin at all, the Four-Powers Agreement prescribed the city's occupation by all four powers, and *jointly*. Which was to say that, although each of the four powers would occupy a certain segment of Berlin, *all* four powers remained responsible for *all* of Berlin. A few years later, the Soviet Commandant, in an attack of gall and pique, left the Four-Powers Commandery. But that did not change a whit what, up to August 13, 1961, the Soviets as well as the rest of the world had recognized as the legal status of Berlin: It remained a *joint* responsibility of the four powers who had *jointly* occupied the city in 1945.

The statute of that joint occupation stated distinctly and bindingly that none of the four powers would tolerate military German formations on its territory; nor allow any kind of political German authority to interfere with the overruling rights and duties of occupation; nor prevent citizens of the City of Berlin from moving freely throughout *all* of Berlin. These are obligations of *all four powers*, solemnly formulated and signed. But on August 13, 1961, the German agents of the Soviets closed East Berlin hermetically from West Berlin; so-called German authorities executed an occupation of East Berlin by so-called German military forces,

and assumed the functions of the Soviet occupation authorities.

Our Obligation Is Met By Paralysis . . .

This stark and brazen violation of the Four-Powers Agreement (whose execution and implementation is the *sole* reason for the presence of American troops in West Berlin) required one, and only one, answer: the immediate disarmament of those so-called German military forces in East Berlin by the jointly responsible occupation powers. In short, everybody in Europe assumed — even after the terrifying experiences with Kennedy's indecision in Cuba and Laos — that the military forces of the United States, stationed for that very purpose in West Berlin since 1945, would get into action to enforce the law of the land.

Above all, Khrushchev had assumed just that. Or, at least, he deemed it possible. This is why, on that August 13, 1961, no Soviet soldier was seen on the streets of East Berlin, no Soviet officer was available for any kind of comment. The Soviets had to find out whether or not the United States would live up to its obligation, and intervene. If it did, Khrushchev was prepared to leave Ulbricht in the lurch, write the whole thing off as a German blunder, and restore the status quo. On the other hand, if Kennedy proved utterly paralyzed even on that ultimate occasion, then Khrushchev knew what he wanted to know: that the United States had collapsed.

The only thing that the Kennedy Administration did on that crucial day was to notify Bonn that the Adenauer Government must not move either. Having done this, Washington contin-

European Survey

ued its hypnotic sleep. There is, it seems, only one kind of reflex unimpaired in America's governmental structure: to pressure all allies of the United States into the same kind of paralysis. At any rate, the Adenauer Government did not move. It was the first capital error of the great old man — and it could easily be his last.

Which We Also Impose On Adenauer . . .

For West Germany, the violation of the Four-Powers Agreement in Berlin is absolutely unbearable. In one sense, this Four-Powers Agreement is the very basis of all West-German legality and legitimacy. Bonn has, in the final analysis, no other legal link with the outside world than that Agreement—no peace treaty, no formative act of legitimate recognition. The relations between Bonn and the Four Powers are derived from the statute those four powers established, in 1945, as the framework of occupation. Most certainly was Bonn's decision, of a few years ago, to resume diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, based on nothing but the Four-Powers Agreement that allowed the presence of Soviet troops on German territory. The moment the Soviets renounced that Agreement, Bonn could not help breaking off diplomatic relations with Moscow.

But this was exactly what Kennedy, on August 13, 1961, proclaimed *verboten* in Bonn. And Adenauer made the irreparable mistake of obeying. By yielding to Kennedy's pressures he may have destroyed his life's work — and most certainly he lost the election of September 17 for no other reason.

For he did lose that election. Numer-

ically the outcome does not look like a disaster: Adenauer's CDU lost only about five percent of the landslide vote it had mustered in 1957. But politically Adenauer suffered a major defeat; his party no longer rules the Bundestag. Which means that Adenauer, from now on, will have to flatter, cajole, bribe, or seduce one of the other two German parties into some kind of coalition. Adenauer's policy is no longer that of Germany. From now on he will have to *compromise* — partly with the neutralist opposition, partly with the Kennedy Administration that is on an unstoppable run.

Only a year ago, when the Paris Conference was over before it began, Adenauer's courageous and unequivocal intervention in Washington had saved the day. Together with Charles de Gaulle (who, only a year ago, still appeared to be a tower of Western strength), Adenauer had impressed Eisenhower that neither France nor Germany would surrender another inch; and that Eisenhower, at the Paris Conference, could commit neither France nor Germany in any further dealings with Khrushchev. Eisenhower and, above all, Khrushchev understood. The Conference was off.

But these are last year's snows. On August 13, 1961, Adenauer allowed Kennedy to commit Germany. Why? Partly because even *der Alte* can get tired. Partly because, the closer we come to the showdown over Berlin, the more confused certain segments of the CDU seem to be getting. But, above all, Adenauer gave in because he was afraid a courageous stand might cost him the elections. He miscalculated. He thought the German voters wanted, not honor, but "peace." Four weeks

European Survey

later he learned that a small but decisive part of the German electorate would not forgive him the loss of face (and faith) he had suffered on August 13. The consensus of all competent observers ascribes the success of the opposition to Adenauer's attack of weakness. When Kennedy prevented Adenauer, on August 13, from breaking off Germany's diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, he may also have broken Adenauer's neck.

While Trying To Impose Brandt Also . . .

However, not even Washington's intervention could help Willy Brandt into the saddle. Not that Washington did not try. There was, in all truth, never a similar case of official American partisanship in a foreign election. And the surreptitious aid for Brandt's drive came into the open when Vice President Johnson publicly (!) rejected Adenauer's suggestion to join Kennedy's representative on his official trip to West Berlin. Imagine: the American guest declines the German Chancellor's offer to accompany him to Berlin! All Germany, of course, took this insult to mean what it was intended to mean—namely, an official announcement of the United States Government that it no longer considers Adenauer *persona grata*. Nevertheless, forty-five percent of all Germans still do—and only thirty-six percent of them endorsed Kennedy's candidate, Willy Brandt.

And yet, the elections of September 17 mark a new German departure—namely, away from the alliance with the West. It was Germany's faith in, and friendship with, America that saved, after 1945, Europe from the Bolshevik onslaught. That friendship,

that faith, Kennedy has sacrificed even before he starts negotiating with Khrushchev. On August 13, 1961, began Germany's flight forward — into the Russian embrace.

I implore my readers to go back and ponder that last sentence once more. It contains the key to the understanding of everything that will happen in Europe from now on. From now on, the strategic problem of Europe is not how to keep the Soviets from moving westwards. From now on, the strategic problem is how to keep Germany from becoming an eastern power.

I have no illusion and not even the ambition that my *Surveys* be read in the White House. But for once I wish I knew how to reach Kennedy's attention. Not that I would allow myself to hope I could persuade him. I never could persuade even Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., though I have known him for almost twenty years. But in this particular case I simply doubt whether anybody has called to the President's attention that, in his effort to save Berlin, he has already lost Germany. It is one of the rare cases where I have to offer, not advice, but information which the President, more likely than not, has not received from the Central Intelligence Agency.

We Thus Push West Germany Into Soviet Arms . . .

Germany, I repeat, is on its way eastwards. A people that, up to August 13, 1961, staked its fate and its future on its trust in the United States, no longer believes it is protected by American might. And never again do the Germans propose to be on the losing side. Post-Hitler Germany is a pragmatic nation, with a completely

European Survey

withered sense of "ideology" and an overwhelming practical egotism — not unlike the American people. That the Germans, after August 13, are getting ready to change sides, is not due to the resentment of a people "betrayed." It's the calm and realistic second thought of practical businessmen: "As the United States is evidently ready to throw us to the Russian wolves, we had better arrange ourselves with the beasts."

This, it seems to me, was from the beginning the unavoidable result of Washington's *malaise*, and worse, concerning Berlin — and, I must add in all fairness, not only since Kennedy's inauguration. When Eisenhower called Berlin, in 1958, "an abnormal situation," one could foretell the consequences (and I did so in my book, *Germany And The East-West Crisis*, almost three years ago). And, paradoxically, it was the very emphasis on retaining American troops in West Berlin that made the United States Government increasingly forget about Germany!

For official Washington, the whole German problem has been reduced to this one concern of prestige: "We must stay in Berlin!" And Kennedy has now reached the point where he (prejudging all future negotiations!) officially declares that this is the one "not negotiable" question, while other aspects of the German problem are "negotiable." Which simply means Kennedy is saying: "If we are allowed to stay in West Berlin, and to keep our lines of supply, we are willing to concede everything else." But this, from the very beginning was the *Soviet goal* — and I say it not as a hindsight; I said it three years ago: The Soviets are *delighted* to leave our troops in West Berlin, and to secure those troops' logistics, if they

only get the recognition of the Ulbricht regime! That's the only thing that matters—for the Soviets and for Germany. The presence of American troops in West Berlin is totally irrelevant. It is even, from the Soviet point of view, desirable: The presence of American troops on an island surrounded by the Communist land mass amounts to leaving American hostages at the grace of the Soviets: As long as American troops remain in West Berlin, an anxious America can always be unnerved.

But the recognition of the Ulbricht regime, *de facto* or otherwise, is a different story. In the London agreements of October, 1954, the United States solemnly declared that the Bonn Government is the only one "freely and legitimately constituted and therefore entitled to speak for Germany" — *the only one!* In the same solemn agreements the United States declared that "a free and united Germany remains a fundamental goal of its policy." With these solemn declarations the United States persuaded Germany to enter NATO and to put Germany's manpower at the disposal of the West. An Administration that now declares its readiness to "negotiate" any kind of recognition of the Ulbricht regime is cynically getting ready to consider the London Agreements of 1954 "just a piece of paper"; is getting ready to break its word of honor.

The Germans know this. They, on their part, are getting ready to act likewise. If the United States can break the London Agreements — so can the Germans. Which means: Germany is getting ready to leave NATO. NATO without Germany is a joke, and a stupid one. Which means: by leaving

European Survey

NATO Germany can deliver all of Europe to the Soviets. And this, to the Germans, looks like a terrific bit of bargaining power. The Germans, in short, can intelligently imagine that, quite unlike Dr. Beneš in 1946, they have a chance to deal with the Soviets *as one power with another*. As their switch would mean the control of all Europe, they hope the Soviets would be willing to pay for this a considerable price.

I do not say that this calculation is correct. In fact, I know it is wrong. Nobody gets "a price" from the Soviets—not in the long run, that is. In the long run Communism takes over from its "partners"—no matter how big the dowry such a partner brought into the marriage. This is an unchangeable law of Communist power politics. Even if the Germans bring all of Europe into the marriage with the Soviets, they will finally be enslaved by Communism. I know this. But the Germans do not. For no nation can be dissuaded from its desire to stay alive. And so the Germans, deserted by the United States, will chase the only pipe dream left to their national ambition—an "arrangement" with the Soviets.

And "Stay" In Berlin To Hide The Loss Of Europe . . .

Thus, Kennedy will have "defended" West Berlin and he will have lost all of Germany. In other words, Kennedy's German policy is not just appeasement—it is the most insane kind of appeasement. For instance, I could imagine a sane appeasement policy that would say: "As I cannot defend West Berlin, short of an atomic world holocaust, I shall resettle two million Berliners in the West and leave the bare

stones of the city to the Soviets." This kind of appeasement would at least make *some* kind of sense. But to declare, like a stubborn little boy, that atomic war *would* be fought over West Berlin—and at the same time yield *all* of Germany without firing a shot—this will be diagnosed by future historians as sheer lunacy.

And not only as lunacy. In the context of broad Communist strategy—a strategy that has not changed since Lenin's days—Germany remains the major goal. That much would be granted even by Professor Schlesinger. How then would he define a policy that results in the loss of the West's major position? Even more. How are we to define a policy that, at the same time, achieves also the other major goal of Soviet strategy—namely, the exodus of United States military forces from Europe? Or can anyone imagine their remaining in Europe, once Germany has left NATO and NATO, consequently, has ceased to exist?

In short, a policy that "defends" our rights in West Berlin, but by doing so loses Germany, executes precisely the Communist plan for world conquest. None of the President's advisers has that intention. But if they had, they could give him no worse advice. Perhaps Mr. Kennedy has arrived at his horrifying decision to sacrifice Germany because he thinks the only other alternative is atomic war, and he is humanly incapable of choosing that alternative. In that case, let him say so. He is entitled to recoiling from the responsibilities inherent in his office. He may even resign. But he must not drop the world into the hell of triumphant Communism with frivolous talk about "defending" it!

REPUBLICS and DEMOCRACIES

by

ROBERT WELCH

*As first delivered, at the Constitution Day luncheon of
We, The People in Chicago, on September 17, 1961. Copy-
right 1961 by Robert Welch.*

The subheads have been added for this printed copy.

IT IS NOT LIKELY that I shall say anything new here today. If I do, it will be of only minor significance. In all of my remarks, to paraphrase an old quip, the important will not be new, and the new will not be important. For statesmen, historians, and philosophers have been thinking, speaking, and writing on the general subject, of which my topic is a part, for nearly three thousand years to our definite knowledge, and perhaps for a much longer period of time. Unfortunately there is so much about man's past of which we cannot be sure, for the simple reason that historians themselves occurred rather late in history.

But I can assure you that my attitude towards those who have studied this vast field, and put down their conclusions in many forms, is not that of Donatus, who quipped: "*Pereant qui ante nos nostra dixerunt.*" ("May they perish who have said our things before us.") Whatever pride I might have in exclusive authorship is greatly outweighed by gratitude for all of the observations and thinking and recorded opinions which have been produced by others, of which I am the fortunate heir. And nowhere, outside of his religious meditations, has man bestowed more of his serious thought, throughout his whole history, than on the subject of government. What is more, even within that general subject a preponderant part of man's attention seems to have been fixed on the specific topic as to the

Republics and Democracies

proper form and limitation of government, when the people try to rule themselves, which concerns us here today.

Their History...

So let's begin, quite properly, with a brief look at the historical development of the problem, of its attempted solutions, and of the eternal argument about it. For here, in my opinion, as in every other field of human thought and activity, it is not possible fully to understand the present except as a projection of the past.

II

THE FIRST SCENE in this drama, on which the curtain clearly lifts, is Greece of the Sixth Century B.C. The city of Athens was having so much strife and turmoil, primarily as between its various classes, that the wisest citizens felt something of a more permanent nature, rather than just a temporary remedy, had to be developed—to make possible that stability, internal peace, and prosperity which they had already come to expect of life in a civilized society. And through one of those fortunate accidents of history, which surprise us on one side by their rarity and on the other side by ever having happened at all, these citizens of Athens chose an already distinguished fellow citizen, named Solon, to resolve the problem for both their present and their future. They saw that Solon was given full power over every aspect of government and of economic life in Athens. And Solon, applying himself to the specific job, time, and circumstances, and perhaps without any surmise that he might be laboring for lands and centuries other than his own, proceeded to establish in "the laws of Solon" what amounted to, so far as we know, the first written regulations whereby men ever proposed to govern themselves. Undoubtedly even Solon's decisions and his laws were but projections and syntheses of theories and practices which had already been in existence for a long time. And yet his election as Archon of Athens, in 594 B.C., can justly be considered as the date of a

Republics and Democracies

whole new and huge approach to man's eternal problem of government.

Began In Greece...

There is no question but that the laws and principles which Solon laid down both foreshadowed and prepared the way for all republics of later ages, including our own. He introduced, into the visible record of man's efforts and progress, the very principle of "government by written and permanent law" instead of "government by incalculable and changeable decrees." (Will Durant). And he himself set forth one of the soundest axioms of all times, that it was a well-governed state "when the people obey the rulers and the rulers obey the laws." This concept, that there were laws which even kings and dictators must observe, was not only new; I think it can be correctly described as "western."

Here was a sharp and important cleavage at the very beginning of our western civilization, from the basic concept that always had prevailed in Asia, which concept still prevailed in Solon's day, and which in fact remained unquestioned in the Asiatic mind and empires until long after the fall of the Roman Empire of the East, when Solon had been dead two thousand years.

Which Stopped With Democracy...

Unfortunately, while Solon's laws remained in effect in Athens in varying degrees of theory and practice for five centuries, neither Athens nor any of the Greek city-states ever achieved the form of a republic, primarily for two reasons. First, Solon introduced the permanent legal basis for a republican government, but not the framework for its establishment and continuation. The execution, observance, and perpetuation of Solon's laws fell naturally and almost automatically into the hands of tyrants, who ruled Athens for long but uncertain periods of time, through changing forms and administrative

Republics and Democracies

procedures for their respective governments. And second, the Greek temperament was too volatile, the whole principle of self-government was too exciting—even through a dictator who might have to be overthrown by force—for the Athenians ever to finish the job Solon had begun, and bind themselves as well as their rulers down to the chains of an unchanging constitution. Even the authority of Solon's laws had to be enforced and thus established by successive tyrants like Pisistratus and Cleisthenes, or they might never have amounted to anything more than a passing dream. The ideal was there, of rule according to written laws; and the fact that those laws were at times and to some extent honored or observed constituted one huge step towards—and fulfilled one prerequisite of—a true republic.

But the second great step, of a government framework as fixed and permanent as the basic laws were supposed to be, remained for the Romans and other heirs of Greece to achieve. As a consequence Athens—and the other Greek city-states which emulated it—remained politically as democracies, and eventually learned from their own experiences that it was probably the worst of all forms of government.

III

BUT OUT OF THE DEMOCRACIES OF GREECE, as tempered somewhat by the laws of Solon, there came as a direct spiritual descendant the first true republic the world has ever known. This was Rome in its earlier centuries, after the monarchy had been replaced. The period is usually given as from 509 B.C. to 49 B.C., Rome having got rid of its kings by the first of those dates, and having turned to the Caesars by the second. But the really important early date is 454 B.C., when the Roman Senate sent a commission to Greece to study and report on the legislation of Solon. The commission, consisting of three men, did its work well. On its return the Roman Assembly chose ten men—and hence called the Decemviri—to rule with supreme power while formulating a new code of laws for Rome. And in 454 B.C.

Republics and Democracies

they proposed, and the Assembly adopted, what were called *The Twelve Tables*. This code, based on Solon's laws, became the written constitution of the Roman Republic.

But Rome Inherited This Start...

The Twelve Tables, "amended and supplemented again and again—by legislation, praetorial edicts, *senatus consulta*, and imperial decrees—remained for nine hundred years the basic law of Rome." (Durant) At least in theory, and always to some extent in practice, even after Julius Caesar had founded the empire which was recognized as an empire from the time of Augustus. What was equally important, even before the adoption of *The Twelve Tables*, Rome had already established the framework, with firm periodicity for its public servants, of a republic in which those laws could be, and for a while would be, impartially and faithfully administered.

For, as a Roman named Gaius (and otherwise unknown) was to write in about 160 A.D., "all law pertains to persons, to property, and to procedure." And for a satisfactory government you need as much concern about the implementation of those laws, the governmental agencies through which they are to be administered, and the whole political framework within which those laws form the basis of order and of justice, as with the laws themselves which constitute the original statute books. And the Romans contrived and—subject to the exceptions and changes inflicted on the pattern by the ambitions and cantankerous restlessness of human nature—maintained such a framework in actual practice for nearly five hundred years.

The Romans themselves referred to their government as having a "mixed constitution." By this they meant that it had some of the elements of a democracy, some of the elements of an oligarchy, and some of those of an autocracy; but they also meant that the interests of all the various classes of Roman society were taken into consideration by the Roman constitu-

Republics and Democracies

tional government, rather than just the interests of some one class. Already the Romans were familiar with governments which had been founded by, and were responsible to, one class alone: especially "democracies," as of Athens, which at times considered the rights of the proletariat as supreme; and oligarchies, as of Sparta, which were equally biased in favor of the aristocrats. Here again the Roman instinct and experience had led them to one of the fundamental requisites of a true republic.

And Created A Republic...

In summary, the Romans were opposed to tyranny in any form; and the feature of government to which they gave the most thought was an elaborate system of checks and balances. In the early centuries of their republic, whenever they added to the total offices and officeholders, as often as not they were merely increasing the diffusion of power and trying to forestall the potential tyranny of one set of governmental agents by the guardianship or watchdog powers of another group. When the Tribunes were set up, for instance, around 350 B.C., their express purpose and duty was to protect the people of Rome against their own government. This was very much as our Bill of Rights was designed by our Founding Fathers for exactly the same purpose. And other changes in the Roman government had similar aims. The result was a civilization and a government which, by the time Carthage was destroyed, had become the wonder of the world, and which remained so in memory until the Nineteenth Century—when its glories began receding in the minds of men, because surpassed by those of the rising American republic.

Now it should bring more than smiles, in fact it should bring some very serious reflections, to Americans, to realize what the most informed and penetrating Romans, of all eras, thought of their early republic.

Republics and Democracies

It is both interesting, and significantly revealing, to find exactly the same arguments going on during the first centuries B.C. and A.D. about the sources of Roman greatness, that swirl around us today with regard to the United States. Cicero spoke of their "mixed constitution" as "the best form of government." Polybius, in the second century, B.C., had spoken of it in exactly the same terms; and, going further, had ascribed Rome's greatness and triumphs to its form of government. Livy, however, during the days of Augustus, wrote of the virtues that had made Rome great, before the Romans had reached the evils of his time, when, as he put it, "we can bear neither our diseases nor their remedies." And those virtues were, he said, "the unity and holiness of family life, the *pietas* (or reverential attitude) of children, the sacred relation of men with the gods at every step, the sanctity of the solemnly pledged word, the stoic self-control and *gravitas* (or serious sense of responsibility)." Doesn't that sound familiar?

But while many Romans gave full credit to both the Roman character and their early environment, exactly as we do with regard to American greatness today, the nature and excellence of their early government, and its contribution to the building of Roman greatness, were widely discussed and thoroughly recognized. And the ablest among them knew exactly what they were talking about. "Democracy," wrote Seneca, "is more cruel than wars or tyrants." "Without checks and balances," Dr. Will Durant summarizes one statement of Cicero, "monarchy becomes despotism, aristocracy becomes oligarchy, democracy becomes mob rule, chaos, and dictatorship." And he quotes Cicero verbatim about the man usually chosen as leader by an ungoverned populace, as "someone bold and unscrupulous . . . who curries favor with the people *by giving them other men's property.*" (Our emphasis.)

If that is not an exact description of the leaders of the New Deal, the Fair Deal, and the New Frontier, I don't know

Republics and Democracies

where you will find one. What Cicero was bemoaning was the same breakdown of the republic, and of its protection against such demagoguery and increasing "democracy," as we have been experiencing. This breakdown was under exactly the same kind of pressures that have been converting the American republic into a democracy, the only difference being that in Rome those pressures were not so conspiratorially well organized as they are in America today. Virgil, and many great Romans like him were, as Will Durant says, well aware that "class war, not Caesar, killed the Roman Republic." In about 50 B.C., for instance, Sallust had been charging the Roman Senate with placing *property rights* above *human rights*. (Our emphasis.) And we are certain that if Franklin D. Roosevelt had ever heard of Sallust or read one of Sallust's speeches, he would have told somebody to go out and hire this man Sallust for one of his ghost writers at once.

IV

ABOUT THIRTY YEARS AGO a man named Harry Atwood, who was one of the first to see clearly what was being done by the demagogues to our form of government, and the tragic significance of the change, wrote a book entitled *Back To The Republic*. It was an excellent book, except for one shortcoming. Mr. Atwood insisted emphatically, over and over, that ours was the first republic in history; that American greatness was due to our Founding Fathers having given us something entirely new in history, *the first republic*—which Mr. Atwood described as the "standard government," or "the golden mean," towards which all other governments to the right or the left should gravitate in the future.

Now the truth is that, by merely substituting the name Rome for the name United States, and making similar changes in nomenclature, Mr. Atwood's book could have been written by Virgil or by Seneca, with regard to the conversion of the *Roman* republic into a democracy. It is only to the extent we

Republics and Democracies

are willing to learn from history that we are able to avoid repeating its horrible mistakes. And while Mr. Atwood did not sufficiently realize this fact, fortunately our Founding Fathers did. For they were men who knew history well and were determined to profit by that knowledge.

The Greek And Roman Experiences...

Also, by the time of the American Revolution and Constitution, the meanings of the words "republic" and "democracy" had been well established and were readily understood. And most of this accepted meaning derived from the Roman and Greek experiences. The two words are not, as most of today's Liberals would have you believe—and as most of them probably believe themselves—*parallels* in etymology, or history, or meaning. The word Democracy (in a political rather than a social sense, of course) had always referred to a type of government, as distinguished from monarchy, or autocracy, or oligarchy, or principate. The word Republic, before 1789, had designated the quality and nature of a government, rather than its structure. When Tacitus complained that "it is easier for a republican form of government to be applauded than realized," he was living in an empire under the Caesars and knew it. But he was bemoaning the loss of that adherence to the laws and to the protections of the constitution which made the nation no longer a republic; and not to the fact that it was headed by an emperor.

The word democracy comes from the Greek and means, literally, government by the people. The word "republic" comes from the Latin, *res publica*, and means literally "the public affairs." The word "commonwealth," as once widely used, and as still used in the official title of my state, "the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," is almost an exact translation and continuation of the original meaning of *res publica*. And it was only in this sense that the Greeks, such as Plato, used the term that has been translated as "republic." Plato was writing about an imaginary "commonwealth"; and while he certainly had strong

Republics and Democracies

ideas about the kind of government this Utopia should have, those ideas were not conveyed nor foreshadowed by his title.

The historical development of the meaning of the word republic might be summarized as follows. The Greeks learned that, as Dr. Durant puts it, "man became free when he recognized that he was subject to law." The Romans applied the formerly general term "republic" specifically to that system of government in which both the people *and their rulers* were subject to law. That meaning was recognized throughout all later history, as when the term was applied, however inappropriately in fact and optimistically in self-deception, to the "Republic of Venice" or to the "Dutch Republic." The meaning was thoroughly understood by our Founding Fathers. As early as 1775 John Adams had pointed out that Aristotle (representing Greek thought), Livy (whom he chose to represent Roman thought), and Harrington (a British statesman), all "define a republic to be —— a government of laws and not of men." And it was with this full understanding that our constitution-makers proceeded to establish a government which, by its very structure, would require that both the people and their rulers obey certain basic laws — laws which could not be changed without laborious and deliberate changes in the very structure of that government. When our Founding Fathers established a "republic," in the hope, as Benjamin Franklin said, that we could keep it, and when they guaranteed to every state within that "republic" a "republican form" of government, they well knew the significance of the terms they were using. And were doing all in their power to make the features of government signified by those terms as permanent as possible. They also knew very well indeed the meaning of the word democracy, and the history of democracies; and they were deliberately doing everything in their power to avoid for their own times, and to prevent for the future, the evils of a democracy.

Republics and Democracies

Let's look at some of the things they said to support and clarify this purpose. On May 31, 1787, Edmund Randolph told his fellow members of the newly assembled Constitutional Convention that the object for which the delegates had met was "to provide a cure for the evils under which the United States labored; that in tracing these evils to their origin every man had found it in the turbulence and trials of democracy. . . ."

Were Well Known To Our Founding Fathers...

The delegates to the Convention were clearly in accord with this statement. At about the same time another delegate, Elbridge Gerry, said: "The evils we experience flow from the excess of democracy. The people do not want (that is, do not lack) virtue; but are the dupes of pretended patriots." And on June 21, 1788, Alexander Hamilton made a speech in which he stated:

"It had been observed that a pure democracy if it were practicable would be the most perfect government. Experience had proved that no position is more false than this. The ancient democracies in which the people themselves deliberated never possessed one good feature of government. Their very character was tyranny; their figure deformity."

At another time Hamilton said: "We are a Republican Government. Real liberty is never found in despotism or in the extremes of Democracy." And Samuel Adams warned: "Remember, Democracy never lasts long. It soon wastes, exhausts and murders itself! There never was a democracy that 'did not commit suicide.' "

James Madison, one of the members of the Convention who was charged with drawing up our Constitution, wrote as follows:

". . . . democracies have ever been spectacles of turbulence and contention; have ever been found incompatible with personal security, or the rights of

Republics and Democracies

property; and have in general been as short in their lives as they have been violent in their deaths."

Who Established Our Republic...

Madison and Hamilton and Jay and their compatriots of the Convention prepared and adopted a Constitution in which they nowhere even mentioned the word democracy, not because they were not familiar with such a form of government, but because they were. The word democracy had not occurred in the Declaration of Independence, and does not appear in the constitution of a single one of our fifty states—which constitutions are derived mainly from the thinking of the Founding Fathers of the Republic — for the same reason. They knew all about Democracies, and if they had wanted one for themselves and their posterity, they would have founded one. Look at all the elaborate system of checks and balances which they established; at the carefully worked-out protective clauses of the Constitution itself, and especially of the first ten amendments known as the Bill of Rights; at the effort, as Jefferson put it, to "bind men down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution," and thus to solidify the rule not of men but of laws. All of these steps were taken, deliberately, to avoid and to prevent a Democracy, or any of the worst features of a Democracy, in the United States of America.

V

AND SO OUR REPUBLIC was started on its way. And for well over a hundred years our politicians, statesmen, and people remembered that this was a republic, not a democracy, and knew what they meant when they made that distinction. Again, let's look briefly at some of the evidence.

Washington, in his first inaugural address, dedicated himself to "the preservation . . . of the republican model of government." Thomas Jefferson, our third president, was the founder of the Democratic Party; but in his first inaugural

Republics and Democracies

address, although he referred several times to the Republic or the republican form of government, he did not use the word "democracy" a single time. And John Marshall, who was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court from 1801 to 1835, said: "Between a balanced republic and a democracy, the difference is like that between order and chaos."

Throughout all of the Nineteenth Century and the very early part of the Twentieth, while America as a republic was growing great and becoming the envy of the whole world, there were plenty of wise men, both in our country and outside of it, who pointed to the advantages of a republic, which we were enjoying, and warned against the horrors of a democracy, into which we might fall. Around the middle of that century, Herbert Spencer, the great English philosopher, wrote, in an article on *The Americans*: "The Republican form of government is the highest form of government; but because of this it requires the highest type of human nature—a type nowhere at present existing." And in truth we have not been a high enough type to preserve the republic we then had, which is exactly what he was prophesying.

And The Dangers Of A Democracy...

Thomas Babington Macaulay said: "I have long been convinced that institutions purely democratic must, sooner or later, destroy liberty or civilization, or both." And we certainly seem to be in a fair way today to fulfill his dire prophecy. Nor was Macaulay's contention a mere personal opinion without intellectual roots and substance in the thought of his times. Nearly two centuries before, Dryden had already lamented that "no government had ever been, or ever can be, wherein time-servers and blockheads will not be uppermost." And as a result, he had spoken of nations being "drawn to the dregs of a democracy." While in 1795 Immanuel Kant had written: "Democracy is necessarily despotism."

Republics and Democracies

In 1850 Benjamin Disraeli, worried as was Herbert Spencer at what was already being foreshadowed in England, made a speech to the British House of Commons in which he said: "If you establish a democracy, you must in due time reap the fruits of a democracy. You will in due season have great impatience of public burdens, combined in due season with great increase of public expenditure. You will in due season have wars entered into from passion and not from reason; and you will in due season submit to peace ignominiously sought and ignominiously obtained, which will diminish your authority and perhaps endanger your independence. You will in due season find your property less valuable, and your freedom less complete." Disraeli could have made that speech with even more appropriateness before a joint session of the American Congress in 1935. And in 1870 he had already come up with an epigram which is strikingly true for the United States today. "The world is weary," he said, "of statesmen whom democracy has degraded into politicians."

But even in Disraeli's day there were similarly prophetic voices on this side of the Atlantic. In our own country James Russell Lowell showed that he recognized the danger of unlimited majority rule by writing:

"Democracy gives every man
The right to be his own oppressor."

W. H. Seward pointed out that "Democracies are prone to war, and war consumes them." This is an observation certainly borne out during the past fifty years exactly to the extent that we have been becoming a democracy and fighting wars, with each trend as both a cause and an effect of the other one. And Ralph Waldo Emerson issued a most prophetic warning when he said: "Democracy becomes a government of bullies tempered by editors." If Emerson could have looked ahead to the time when so many of the editors would themselves be a part of, or sympathetic to, the gang of bullies, as they are today, he would

Republics and Democracies

have been even more disturbed. And in the 1880's Governor Seymour of New York said that the merit of our Constitution was, not that it promotes democracy, but checks it.

Across the Atlantic again, a little later, Oscar Wilde once contributed this epigram to the discussion: "Democracy means simply the bludgeoning of the people, by the people, for the people." While on this side, and after the first World War had made the degenerative trend in our government so visible to any penetrating observer, H. L. Mencken wrote: "The most popular man under a democracy is not the most democratic man, but the most despotic man. The common folk delight in the exactions of such a man. They like him to boss them. Their natural gait is the goosestep." While Ludwig Lewisohn observed: "Democracy, which began by liberating men politically, has developed a dangerous tendency to enslave him through the tyranny of majorities and the deadly power of their opinion."

Were Well Understood...

But it was a great Englishman, G. K. Chesterton, who put his finger on the basic reasoning behind all the continued and determined efforts of the Communists to convert our republic into a democracy. "You can never have a revolution," he said, "in order to establish a democracy. You must have a democracy in order to have a revolution."

And in 1931 the Duke of Northumberland, in his booklet, *The History of World Revolution*, stated: "The adoption of Democracy as a form of Government by all European nations is fatal to good Government, to liberty, to law and order, to respect for authority, and to religion, and must eventually produce a state of chaos from which a new world tyranny will arise." While an even more recent analyst, Archibald E. Stevenson, summarized the situation as follows: "De Tocqueville once warned us," he wrote, "that: 'If ever the free institutions of America are destroyed, that event will arise from the unlimited

Republics and Democracies

tyranny of the majority.' But a majority will never be permitted to exercise such 'unlimited tyranny' so long as we cling to the American ideals of republican liberty and turn a deaf ear to the siren voices now calling us to democracy. This is not a question relating to the *form* of government. That can always be changed by constitutional amendment. It is one affecting the underlying philosophy of our system — a philosophy which brought new dignity to the individual, more safety for minorities and greater justice in the administration of government. We are in grave danger of dissipating this splendid heritage through mistaking it for democracy."

And there have been plenty of other voices to warn us.

VI

So — how did it happen that we have been allowing this gradual destruction of our inheritance to take place? And when did it start? The two questions are closely related.

For not only every democracy, but certainly every republic, bears within itself the seeds of its own destruction. The difference is that for a soundly conceived and solidly endowed republic it takes a great deal longer for those seeds to germinate and the plants to grow. The American republic was bound—is still bound—to follow in the centuries to come the same course to destruction as did Rome. But our real ground of complaint is that we have been pushed down the demagogic road to disaster by conspiratorial hands, far sooner and far faster than would have been the results of natural political evolution.

Until The Fabian Conspirators...

These conspiratorial hands first got seriously to work in this country in the earliest years of the Twentieth Century. The Fabian philosophy and strategy was imported to America from England, as it had been earlier to England from Germany. Some of the members of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society,

Republics and Democracies

founded in 1905, and some of the members of the League for Industrial Democracy into which it grew, were already a part of, or affiliated with, an international Communist conspiracy, planning to make the United States a portion of a one-world Communist state. Others saw it as possible and desirable merely to make the United States a separate socialist Utopia. But they all knew and agreed that to do either they would have to destroy both the constitutional safeguards and the underlying philosophy which made it a republic. So, from the very beginning the whole drive to convert our republic into a democracy was in two parts. One part was to make our people come to believe that we had, and were supposed to have, a democracy. The second part was actually and insidiously to be changing the republic into a democracy.

The first appreciable and effective progress in both directions began with the election of Woodrow Wilson. Of Wilson it could accurately have been said, as Tacitus had said of some Roman counterpart: "By common consent, he would have been deemed capable of governing had he never governed." Since he did become the President of the United States for two terms, however, it is hard to tell how much of the tragic disaster of those years was due to the conscious support by Wilson himself of Communist purposes, and how much to his being merely a dupe and a tool of Colonel Edward Mandell House. But at any rate it is under Wilson that, for the first time, we see the power of the American presidency being used to support Communist schemers and Communist schemes in other countries—as especially, for instance, in Mexico, and throughout Latin America.

It was under Wilson, of course, that the first huge parts of the Marxian program, such as the progressive income tax, were incorporated into the American system. It was under Wilson that the first huge legislative steps to break down what the Romans would have called our "mixed constitution" of a republic, and convert it into the homogenous jelly of a democracy,

Republics and Democracies

got under way with such measures as the direct election of Senators. And it was under Wilson that the first great propaganda slogan was coined and emblazoned everywhere, to make Americans start thinking favorably of democracies and forget that we had a republic. This was, of course, the slogan of the first World War: "To make the world safe for democracy." If enough Americans had, by those years, remembered enough of their own history, they would have been worrying about how to make the world safe *from* democracy. But the great deception and the great conspiracy were already well under way.

Under Wilson And Then Roosevelt...

The conspirators had to proceed slowly and patiently, nevertheless, and to have their allies and dupes do the same. For in the first place the American people could not have been swept too fast and too far in this movement without enough alarms being sounded to be heard and heeded. And in the second place, after the excitement of World War I had sunk into the past, and America was returning to what Harding called "normalcy," there was a strong revulsion against the whole binge of demagoguery and crackpot idealism which had been created under Woodrow Wilson, and which had been used to give us this initial push on the road towards ultimate disaster. And during this period from 1920 until the so-called great depression could be deliberately accentuated, extended, and increased to suit the purposes of the Fabian conspirators, there was simply a germination period for the seeds of destruction which the conspirators had planted. Not until Franklin D. Roosevelt came to power in 1933 did the whole Communist-propelled and Communist-managed drive again begin to take visible and tangible and positive steps in their program to make the United States ultimately succumb to a one-world Communist tyranny. Most conservative Americans are today well aware of many of those steps and of their significance; but there are still not enough who realize how important to Communist plans was the two-

Republics and Democracies

pronged drive to convert the American republic into a democracy and to make the American people accept the change without even knowing there had been one. From 1933 on, however, that drive and that change moved into high gear, and have been kept there ever since.

Let's look briefly at just two important and specific pieces of tangible evidence of this drive, and of its success in even those early years.

In 1928 the U. S. Army Training Manual, used for all of our men in army uniform, gave them the following quite accurate definition of a democracy: "A government of the masses. Authority derived through mass meeting or any form of 'direct' expression. Results in mobocracy. Attitude toward property is communistic—negating property rights. Attitude toward law is that the will of the majority shall regulate, whether it be based upon deliberation or governed by passion, prejudice, and impulse, without restraint or regard to consequences. Results in demagogism, license, agitation, discontent, anarchy."

That was in 1928. Just when that true explanation was dropped, and through what intermediate changes the definition went, I have not had sufficient time and opportunity to learn. But compare that 1928 statement with what was being said in the same place for the same use by 1952. In *The Soldiers Guide*, Department of the Army Field Manual, issued in June of 1952, we find the following:

"Meaning of democracy. Because the United States is a democracy, the majority of the people decide how our government will be organized and run—and that includes the Army, Navy, and Air Force. The people do this by electing representatives, and these men and women then carry out the wishes of the people."
(Emphasis mine.)

Now obviously this change from basic truth to superficial demagoguery, in the one medium for mass indoctrination of our youth which has been available to the Federal Government

Republics and Democracies

until such time as it achieves control over public education, did not just happen by accident. It was part of an over-all design, which became both extensive in its reach and rapid in its execution from 1933 on. Let's look at another, less important but equally striking, illustration.

Former Governor Lehman of New York, in his first inaugural message in 1933, did not once use the word democracy. The poison had not yet reached into the reservoirs from which flowed his political thoughts. In his inaugural message of 1935 he used the word "democracy" twice. The poison was beginning to work. In his similar message of 1939 he used the word "democracy," or a derivative thereof, *twenty-five* times. And less than a year later, on January 3, 1940, in his annual message to the New York legislature, he used it thirty-three times. The poison was now permeating every stream of his political philosophy.

Gradually Changed Our Thinking...

By today that same poison has been diffused, in an effective dosage, through almost the whole body of American thought about government. Newspapers write ringing editorials declaring that this is and always was a democracy. In pamphlets and books and speeches, in classrooms and pulpits and over the air, we are besieged with the shouts of the Liberals and their political henchmen, all pointing with pride to our being a democracy. Many of them even believe it. Here we have a clear-cut sample of the Big Lie which has been repeated so often and so long that it is increasingly accepted as truth. And never was a Big Lie spread more deliberately for more subversive purposes. What is even worse, because of their unceasing efforts to destroy the safeguards, traditions, and policies which made us a republic, and partly because of this very propaganda of deception, what they have been shouting so long is gradually *becoming* truth. Despite Mr. Warren and his Supreme Court and all of their allies, dupes, and bosses, we are not yet a democracy. But the

Republics and Democracies

fingers in the dike are rapidly becoming fewer and less effective. And a great many of the pillars of our republic have already been washed away.

Since 1912 we have seen the imposition of a graduated income tax, as already mentioned. Also, as mentioned, the direct election of Senators. We have seen the Federal Reserve System established and then become the means of giving our central government absolute power over credit, interest rates, and the quantity and value of our money; and we have seen the Federal Government increasingly use this means and this power to take money from the pockets of the thrifty and put it in the hands of the thriftless, to expand bureaucracy, increase its huge debts and deficits, and to promote socialistic purposes of every kind.

We have seen the Federal Government increase its holdings of land by tens of millions of acres, and go into business, as a substitute for and in competition with private industry, to the extent that in many fields it is now the largest—and in every case the most inefficient—producer of goods and services in the nation. And we have seen it carry the socialistic control of agriculture to such extremes that the once vaunted independence of our farmers is now a vanished dream. We have seen a central government taking more and more control over public education, over communications, over transportation, over every detail of our daily lives.

And Our Republic Itself...

We have seen a central government promote the power of labor-union bosses, and in turn be supported by that power, until it has become entirely too much a government of and for one class, which is exactly what our Founding Fathers wanted most to prevent.

We have seen the firm periodicity of the tenure of public office terrifically weakened by the four terms as President of

Republics and Democracies

Franklin D. Roosevelt, something which would justly have horrified and terrified the founders of our republic. It was the fact that, in Greece, the chief executive officers stayed in power for long periods, which did much to prevent the Greeks ever achieving a republic. In Rome it was the rise of the same tendency, under Marius and Sulla and Pompey, and as finally carried to its logical state of life-rule under Julius Caesar, which at last destroyed the republic even though its forms were left. And that, of course, is precisely one reason why the Communists and so many of their Liberal dupes wanted third and fourth terms for FDR. They knew they were thus helping to destroy the American republic.

We have seen both the Executive Department and the Supreme Court override and break down the clearly established rights of the states and state governments, of municipal governments, and of so many of those diffusers of power so carefully protected by the Constitution. Imagine, for instance, what James Madison would have thought of the Federal Government telling the city of Newburgh, New York, that it had no control over the abuse by the shiftless of its welfare handouts.

We have seen an utterly unbelievable increase in government by appointive officials and bureaucratic agencies—a development entirely contrary to the very concept of government expounded and materialized by our Constitution. And we have seen the effective checking and balancing of one department of our government by another department almost completely disappear.

Until We Are Now In Danger...

James Madison, in trying to give us a republic instead of a democracy, wrote that "the accumulation of all powers, legislative, executive, and judicial, in the same hands, whether of one, a few, or many, and whether hereditary, self-appointed, or elective, may justly be denounced as the very definition of

Republics and Democracies

tyranny." The whole problem for the Liberal Establishment that runs our government today, and has been running it for many years regardless of the labels worn by successive administrations, has not been any divergence of beliefs or of purposes between the controlling elements of our executive, legislative, or judicial branches. For twenty years, despite the heroic efforts of men like Taft to stop the trend, these branches have been acting increasingly in complete accord, and obviously according to designs laid down for them by the schemers and plotters behind the scenes. And their only question has been as to how fast the whole tribe dared to go in advancing the grand design. We do not yet have a democracy simply because it takes a lot of time and infinite pressures to sweep the American people all of the way into so disastrous an abandonment of their governmental heritage.

In the Constitution of the American Republic there was a deliberate and very extensive and emphatic division of governmental power for the very purpose of preventing unbridled majority rule. In our Constitution governmental power is divided among three separate branches of the national government, three separate branches of State governments, and the peoples of the several States. And the governmental power, which is so divided, is sometimes exclusive, sometimes concurrent, sometimes limited, at all times specific, and sometimes reserved. Ours was truly, and purposely, a "mixed constitution."

Of Becoming A Democracy...

In a democracy there is a centralization of governmental power in a simple majority. And that, visibly, is the system of government which the enemies of our republic are seeking to impose on us today. Nor are we "drifting" into that system, as Harry Atwood said in 1933, and as many would still have us believe. We are being insidiously, conspiratorially, and *treacherously* led by deception, by bribery, by coercion, and by fear, to

Republics and Democracies

destroy a republic that was the envy and model for all of the civilized world.

VII

FINALLY, let's look briefly at two or three important characteristics of our republic, and of our lives under the republic, which were unique in all history up to the present time.

First, our republic has offered the greatest opportunity and encouragement to *social democracy* the world has ever known. Just as the Greeks found that obedience to law made them free, so Americans found that social democracy flourished best in the absence of political democracy. And for sound reasons. For the safeguards to person and property afforded by a republic, the stable framework which it supplied for life and labor at *all* levels, and the resulting constant flux of individuals from one class into another, made caste impossible and snobbery a joke.

To Save True Social Democracy...

In the best days of our republic Americans were fiercely proud of the fact that rich and poor met on such equal terms in so many ways, and without the slightest trace of hostility. The whole thought expressed by Burns in his famous line, "a man's a man for a' that," has never been accepted more unquestioningly, nor lived up to more truly, than in America in those wonderful decades before the intellectual snobs and power-drunk bureaucrats of our recent years set out to make everybody theoretically equal (except to themselves) by legislation and coercion. And I can tell you this. When you begin to find that Jew and Gentile, White and Colored, rich and poor, scholar and laborer, are genuinely and almost universally friendly to one another again—instead of going through all the silly motions of a phony equality forced upon them by increasing political democracy—you can be sure that we have already made great strides in the restoration of our once glorious republic.

Republics and Democracies

And for a very last thought, let me point out what seems to me to be something about the underlying principles of the American republic which really was new in the whole philosophy of government. In man's earlier history, and especially in the Asiatic civilizations, all authority rested in the king or the conqueror by virtue of sheer military power. The subjects of the king had absolutely no rights except those given them by the king. And such laws or constitutional provisions as did grow up were concessions wrested from the king or given by him out of his own supposedly ultimate authority. In more modern European states, where the complete military subjugation of one nation by another was not so normal, that ultimate authority of the ruler came to rest on the theory of the divine right of kings, or in some instances and to some extent on power specifically bestowed on rulers by a pope as the representative of divinity.

In the meantime the truly western current of thought, which had begun in Greece, was recurrently, intermittently, and haltingly gaining strength. It was that the people of any nation owed their rights to the government which they themselves had established and which owed its power ultimately to their consent. Just what rights any individual citizen had was properly determined by the government which all of the citizens had established, and those rights were subject to a great deal of variations in different times and places under different regimes. In other words, the rights of individuals were still changeable rights, derived from government, even though the power and authority and rights of the government were themselves derived from the total body of the people.

And Our "Unalienable Rights"...

Then both of these basic theories of government, the eastern and the western, were really amended for all time by certain principles enunciated in the American Declaration of Independence. Those principles became a part of the very foundation of our republic. And they said that man has certain *unalienable*

Republics and Democracies

rights which do not derive from government at all. Under this theory not only the Sovereign Conqueror, but the Sovereign People, are restricted in their power and authority by man's natural rights, or by the divine rights of the individual man. And those certain unalienable and divine rights cannot be abrogated by the vote of a majority any more than they can by the decree of a conqueror. The idea that the vote of a people, no matter how nearly unanimous, makes or creates or determines what is right or just, becomes as absurd and unacceptable as the idea that right and justice are simply whatever a king says they are. Just as the early Greeks learned to try to have their rulers and themselves abide by the laws they had themselves established, so man has now been painfully learning that there are more permanent and lasting laws which cannot be changed by either sovereign kings or sovereign people, but which must be observed by both. And that government is merely a convenience, superimposed on Divine Commandments and on the natural laws that flow only from the Creator of man and man's universe.

Now that principle seems to me to be the most important addition to the theory of government in all history. And it has, as I said, at least tacitly been recognized as a foundation stone and cardinal tenet of the American republic. But of course any such idea that there are unchangeable limitations on the power of the people themselves is utterly foreign to the theory of a democracy, and even more impossible in the practices of one. And this principle may ultimately be by far the most significant of all the many differences between a republic and a democracy. For in time, under any government, without that principle slavery is inevitable, while with it slavery is impossible. And the American republic has been the first great example of that principle at work.

We Must Keep Our Republic...

In summary, I personally think that, as I said in the Blue

Republics and Democracies

Book of The John Birch Society, democracy is a weapon of demagoguery and a perennial fraud. I think that a constitutional republic is the best of all forms of government man has yet devised. Our Founding Fathers thought so too, and the wisest Romans had already come to that same conclusion. So I am in excellent company. It is company which we hope more and more Americans will join. To that end we are saying everywhere we can, and asking all of you and tens of thousands to say with us: This is a Republic, not a Democracy. Let's keep it that way!

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Many of the bureau's ablest speakers, when reaching audiences within reasonable range of their homes, will be contributing their time and expenses as a public service. They will thus be available to Service Clubs, P. T. A.'s, Women's Clubs, Church Groups, and a huge variety of comparatively small audiences which do not ordinarily pay fees to their speakers. The bureau itself will, in all such cases, make a very nominal charge (only ten dollars for the smaller audiences) for its service in providing an excellent speaker. From larger audiences, and especially for professional lecturers when the expenses of considerable travel are involved, more normal speaker's fees will be required.

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AMERICAN OPINION SPEAKERS BUREAU
Brookfield, Massachusetts

LOOKING BOTH WAYS



Mr. S. E. D. Brown, whose incisive "Anatomy of Liberalism" appears in this issue, was born in Natal, one of the four states that form the now independent Republic of South Africa. After completing his formal education, he became an officer of the British South African Police and spent more than six years in Southern Rhodesia, where he made a systematic study of the aborigines, their psychological conformation, and their customs.

At the beginning of the Second World War in 1939, he returned to his own country and became an officer in the South African Intelligence Corps. He saw service in Kenya, Abyssinia, Italian Somaliland, British Somaliland, Egypt, and various regions of North Africa. In the course of this often perilous service, he observed closely the techniques of subversion that were being employed in preparation for the great drive to conquer the African continent under the guise of what is euphemistically called "anti-colonialism." After the war, he visited the Congo, Uganda, Tanganyika, and other regions to complete his observations and to study the economic, social, political, and military factors that will determine the future of civilization in Africa.

In 1955, Mr. Brown founded the *South African Observer*, a monthly journal of which he is the editor, publisher, and proprietor. From modest beginnings, the *Observer* has grown to be the leading journal of conservative opinion in the Republic of South Africa, and now has subscribers in every continent except the Antarctic and in virtually every country of the civilized world.

In his article in this issue Mr. Brown dissects the bizarre cult of contemporary "Liberalism"

with the scalpel of unflinching logic. This lesson in anatomy will undoubtedly evoke screams of indignation from "Liberals," especially from those who find the shoe a perfect fit. For such there is, perhaps, no hope, but we most earnestly request a hearing from all open-minded men and women who have lent their names and influence to the specious and strangely unanimous claims of the self-appointed shepherds of "Liberalism." We beg the open-minded, as we said in February, 1956, "to stop somewhere and look more closely at the road down which you are being so skillfully herded."

The Duke of Wellington was profoundly right when he said that the battle of Waterloo had been won on the playing fields of Eton. It is equally true that the Korean War was lost in the school rooms of the United States—and that in those same school rooms were engendered the apathy, irresponsibility, and folly that have now brought our nation to the very brink of irretrievable disaster.

Our schools are our most vulnerable point—the "soft underbelly" of our nation. Beginning with the November issue, therefore, we shall publish a series of articles devoted to examination of American schools from a wide variety of points of view. Dr. Russell Kirk, Mr. E. Merrill Root, Mr. Edward Hunter, Dr. Medford Evans, the Reverend Mr. T. Robert Ingram, Dr. Herbert Sanborn, and other authors will comment on aspects of our educational system, from elementary classes to the mysteries of post-doctoral degrees.

We hope that the cumulative effect of this series of articles will not only show what is wrong and who is responsible for it, but also suggest what you, as a citizen, a taxpayer, and perhaps an alumnus, can do about it.

Coming issues will also include special articles on other vital subjects, as well as Mr. Schlamm's reports and our other regular features.

THE ANATOMY OF LIBERALISM

by

S. E. D. BROWN

IN ALL THAT REMAINS of the civilized world, one finds a social phenomenon of great importance. A very large proportion of the journalists, writers, artists, teachers, and other intellectuals is composed of persons who feel at home only on the political Left. The word 'progress' affects them like a drug. They feel an urge to be "modern," to be conspicuous drum-majors leading parades of "progress" — and this means to them the passionate advocacy of new political and social systems. These persons call themselves "liberals."

It is true that in all the nations that yet remain free, the most effective part of the Communist apparatus of subversion is composed of agents who pose as "liberals," because, of course, undisguised traitors could never attain public office and undisguised poisoners of the national mind could never command an audience. But we are not here concerned with the secret members and accomplices of the international criminal conspiracy. Our concern is with the people who honestly call themselves "liberals."

To be sure, they have no valid title to the name they have appropriated. The word "liberal," designating what is appropriate to a free-born and independent man, came into English with the essentially aristocratic connotations that it retains when we speak of *liberality* in money matters and of a *liberal* education (meaning proficiency in the Classics and other disciplines that are

studied as a means of self-cultivation rather than as techniques or professions to be practiced for profit). The use of the word in the Nineteenth Century, first as a general term and then as a party label, to designate plans for political and economic reform, certainly involved a disingenuous attempt to suggest that the proponents of the plans were gentlemen and that the opponents were not. And in any case modern "liberals" can scarcely claim the Nineteenth-Century label for themselves: John Stuart Mill or Gladstone would regard them with horror. But it is the name by which they are generally known, so we must use it.

The Majority of a Minority

The really active "liberals" are intellectuals — professors, writers, lecturers, and the like — who are professional purveyors of ideas. Many of them depend for their livelihood on their skill as word-mongers, on their ability to arrest and hold attention with plausible and novel discourse. These professionals naturally produce a very large part of what is written and published in a nation, but we must not forget that they are numerically no more than a tiny fraction of the population. If the great majority of them are "liberals," that is merely the great majority of a numerically insignificant minority.

People do not readily listen to "liberals." Most solid and stable citizens are indifferent to the ideas and inven-

The Anatomy of Liberalism

tions of persons whom they regard as cranks, and so tend to ignore them. Naturally, this angers the "liberals." And, instead of drawing the proper conclusions and taking account of public opinion, they try artificially, by even bolder speculations, to attract the attention they think they deserve. Since many of them are highly educated and vivid writers, they have ready access to the pages of most publications, and they are thus able to produce eventually an utterly distorted picture of public opinion.

Only when they have thus created the illusion that they represent public opinion do the "liberals" begin to have real influence, for weak individuals always ape what seems fashionable, and men in general are impressed by what they *think* their sober and respectable fellows believe.

The Dogma of Infallibility

It is not a coincidence that "liberals" are usually professional theorists and verbal artisans. When a theory is an hypothesis based on observed facts and designed to relate those facts to one another and to suggest further observations, it serves an indispensable function in Western thought. But when theory becomes an end in itself, it becomes a drug. It is so easy and pleasant to escape from the always complex, frequently ugly, and sometimes cruel world of reality into a dream-world built of simple, symmetrical, and gracious abstractions — a world of illusion in which a man can play God, since his imagination can create whatever he wishes.

There is an intoxication about the well-turned phrase, the soaring flight of fancy. Self-intoxicated, the "liberals"

solve world problems with stupendous logic—built mostly on false premises. So far as they can, they simply ignore the realities that they find distasteful, and even when facts that cannot be ignored prove them wrong time after time, they adhere to their basic premises, since to discard them would destroy the glorious superstructure of abstractions. Theirs is a dogma of infallibility. If their theories fail to work out in practice, it is Life and Nature that are wrong, not they!

Such childish perversity may be innocuous enough in trivial matters. But "liberals" become positively dangerous when they lay down the law on questions that affect the existence of nations and the future of the Western world. For these brilliant dogmatists, exasperated when reality does not conform to their visions and incensed when practical men reject their faith, are driven to go much farther than they originally intended. By hook or by crook, by fraud or by force, the world must be made to conform to their fancies. Man's thinking machine resembles other machines in that it is dangerous if allowed to get out of control.

Men of common sense, who have learned from experience that they live in a world in which neither wishes nor good intentions ever repealed the laws of gravity and inertia, know when to put on the brakes, but the "liberal," who has learned to ignore in theory the experience of mankind, becomes intoxicated with the motion of his own thinking-machine. Like the adolescent who steps on the gas until he finally crashes through the guard-rail and lands in a ravine, the "liberal" goes faster and faster until he crashes through the last barrier of civilization

The Anatomy of Liberalism

and lands in barbarism. *Inevitably* the "liberal," unless he comes to his senses and checks his own exhilaration, will sooner or later find himself — perhaps head over heels — in the Communist camp.

Up is Down—

The fundamental fallacy of the "liberal" creed is that individuals are, by some mysterious chemistry, endowed with "rights" — whereas, in fact, ordered society is fundamentally built on duties. It is *only* through the acceptance and performance of those duties that rights arise.

Freedom in essence depends upon the restriction of freedom. A man's very right to his home and family exists only because his neighbor has a duty not to snatch them from him; he is free to live a civilized life because the law deprives others of the freedom to interfere with it. Civilization is possible only where this relationship is clearly understood, and freedom is possible only where the duties that create rights are stipulated in a stable constitution, that is to say, a living and implicitly accepted tradition.

In every country of the free world, however, the "liberals," exalted by their ignorance of social structure, and the Communists, recognizing an ideal instrument of destruction, agitate for "democracy," by which they mean the utmost and indiscriminate extension to everyone of freedom without duties, and of the right to influence the destiny of the nation, whether for good or evil, in whatever way his own whims or interests may suggest.

What the "liberals" ignore and the Communists conceal is the elementary fact that, since only a few in any genera-

tion can be above the average and above existing conditions, it is only the few whose free influence can elevate and ameliorate. The majority, particularly the many below parity in sanity, health, and vigor, can, by exercising their unrestrained influence on existing conditions, only debase them.

Thus the "liberal" doctrine of unlimited rights must mean the gradual deterioration, disintegration, and decay of national standards and traditions, because only a handful in every generation is able to induce a change that is elevating, and what has been acquired can be preserved only by a stability that restrains the impulse to plunder.

Give the millions freedom to influence at will a nation's destiny, and you must expect individuals to see advantage in a change that is advantageous only to themselves. Private interests take precedence over national interests; individuals form gangs to raid the rest of society, and tacitly accept the principle that each is for himself and the devil take the hindmost; and since the majority cannot be expected to see beyond the horizon of their own immediate profit, there arises a jungle morality in which the nation perishes.

This fact, inherent in the nature of man and society, is carefully ignored by the "liberals," who much prefer a world in which men can jump from precipices without falling. The Communists, who are not fools, wait patiently as buzzards beside a dying cow.

Because Down is Up

The "liberal" creed contains a second basic fallacy, utterly incompatible with the first: the preposterous notion that men are equal.

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The Anatomy of Liberalism

In the real world, of course, you could never find two men who are equal to one another — physically, mentally, or morally. Men are individuals, and each differs from the others in even so minor and irrelevant a detail as his fingerprints — far more in the vital parts of his corporeal, intellectual, and spiritual inheritance. There are great differences, and therefore inequalities, between man and man, nation and nation, race and race. The "liberals" see all around them inequalities of the crudest kind, sharp contrasts, and abysmal chasms. These they wish to abolish. Why? Not because the spectacle of mankind thus levelled down will necessarily be more pictur-esque or more harmonious to behold, but so that it will become the endless and sterile peniplane pictured by their disordered imagination.

And so the world must be levelled down. The energetic must be penalized until they are equal to the lazy; the intelligent must be subjected to an education designed for rudimentary minds; the fastidious must be brutalized until they are equal to vulgarians; the civilized must be degraded until they are equal to savages. Everywhere the superior—whether man or nation—must be enslaved and made to toil for the comfort of the inferior.

The "liberals" doubtless imagine that they, the contrivers of sophistries and spinners of phrases, will preside over a world in which all the differences that made civilization have been crushed out. The Communists know who will inherit the ruins.

The Economic Myth

"Liberals" and Communists always allege that political systems, and even

a nation's religious, social, and moral convictions, arise out of its economic conditions. They thus simplify their world, for if religion, tradition, and ethics are mere epiphenomena, they have no intrinsic validity and may be dismissed from consideration. And to make man the infinitely docile and ductile creature that they want in their universe, they claim that he is largely or entirely the result of environmental, as opposed to hereditary, influences.

To maintain these fictions, they must deny reality — must silence with their outcries both biological science and history.

Although the "liberals" have largely succeeded in concealing from the general public the great progress made by the science of genetics in recent years, it is now certain that a man's physical characteristics, from the color of his eyes and hair to the very large number of subtle differences in blood that have only recently been discovered, from acuity of vision to susceptibility to given diseases, are determined by heredity. The genetic factors in man are extremely complex, and there is much that is not yet known, but all scientific observations thus far made suggest, and none refutes, the opinion that while a man's physical being may be damaged by disease or violence, and his mental and moral being may be damaged by education or corrupting associations, his potentialities as an individual are determined and delimited by his inherited capacities.

So far as nations are concerned, the "liberals" perforce ignore and deny the lesson that all history teaches, namely, that economic conditions, together with the religious, social, and moral convictions associated with them, are pre-

The Anatomy of Liberalism

eminently the creation of national character, and that this national character is predominantly determined by heredity or what is popularly known as race and better referred to as type or stock. A certain amount of assimilation is possible, but no cultural complex of religious, social, and moral values has ever been successfully exported to a quite different stock, and no such complex has survived a major change in the composition of the stock that created it.

The "liberal" finds this fact distasteful and, as usual, tries to abolish it by loudly denying it. This leads him to a denial of the very nature of society, which he wants to imagine as a mere assemblage of undifferentiated individuals as free as the molecules of a gas. A society is necessarily an organism in which individuals are bound together by the implicit acceptance of common purposes and of a whole complex of values that the great majority of those individuals regard as self-evident. A vital and growing society, therefore, must have a certain group consciousness.

La bête noire

Group consciousness, the complex of instincts that make a man a social animal, is the *bête noire* of the "liberals": they cannot bear to hear it mentioned, and they frantically deny that it exists. The "liberal," being essentially a human being in whom the life-instinct has become etiolated and sterile, can not bear to look at a living society, for it lives by instincts which can, and at times inevitably do, lead to "injustice." The group instinct insists on a certain degree of homogeneity — hence it is exclusive as well as

inclusive. It can discriminate for—and against. Like Life itself, a living society maintains itself by receiving—and rejecting.

This is too much for the over-domesticated, anaemic milksops — the intellectuals who flee from reality into the safe little dream-worlds they create with words. Inherent in their attitude is a rejection of life with all its intense significance and all its necessary dangers. They reject man as he is and will always be; and they substitute an abstraction.

In the pallid world of pure intellect they project a picture of man as they would have him be, something tame, harmless, abolic, passive — a two-dimensional being, a mere shadow in the real world.

Fear of Life

The "liberals" apparently reason that man is a two-dimensional abstraction because a world of two dimensions could not include the things that give depth to the three-dimensional world in which we live, many of which seem to the "liberal" unpleasant, since they do not conform to his abstract conceptions of "justice," "equality," and the like.

It is Life itself that causes the chief among the grievances which "liberals" propose to redress. That they unwittingly make obvious every time they speak. The vocabulary of the "liberal" is invariably limited to 'justice,' 'brotherhood,' 'equality,' and the like; never does it include words for hard work, courage, discipline, responsibility, character, and will-power. These are the qualities that Life demands in men; the "liberal" abhors and rejects them.

The "liberals" are advocates of the

The Anatomy of Liberalism

principle of death, or, to put it more mildly, they at least form a movement hostile to Life. They do not know this and have never known it.

It is a complete misunderstanding to say that the "liberals" are waging a class war or a race war, although such warfare is necessarily incited by their acts. They really *want* to abolish classes, which are as necessary a condition of organized society as separate organs are a condition of animals more complex than blobs of protoplasm; and they really *want* to abolish races, which are the result of unalterable biological law. They are pursuing ends which can be attained only by the annihilation of human life on earth.

Exhilarated by their morbid fancies, the "liberals" are parading through all that is left of the Western world. Their banners glitter with false and meaningless devices calculated to delude the ignorant and the thoughtless; and they are not even frank about the logically necessary conclusions that follow from their first principles.

The last and most frenzied of the Romantics in their rejection of Life as it is, the "liberals" set up their own fictions as standards to be imposed on reality. Only in their confused brains were their concepts of justice, equality, and brotherhood ever conceived as being inherent in nature, but they use these vaporous abstractions as a scale of measurement in order to depreciate civilized society and all its values. And through their skill in the manipulation of words, they have become one of the great forces of disintegration of our modern age.

The Unity of Disunity

Unity among groups of men is in-

stinctual and organic; it works from within and cannot be imposed from without. This fact the "liberals" ignore entirely, for having severed themselves from their own society and all the sources of social vigor and health, they cannot imagine themselves happy until they have made everyone else equally sick.

Among themselves, the "liberals" are forever engaged in fretful and peevish quarrels over trivialities or over the shape of fluid abstractions, and usually they cannot produce even a semblance of solidarity when that is needed to effect their own purposes. Typically, when the *Rand Daily Mail* tried not long ago to bring about some kind of unity among the various "liberal" groups in South Africa—the Liberal Party, Congress of Democrats, Black Sash, and others — the result was such that the *Mail* itself had to confess that "The luxury of having a different organization for every small shade of opinion is something that the liberal-minded people simply will not forego." Whereupon the groups began to quarrel self-righteously over the *Mail's* view of their views!

It is no accident that "liberals" disrupt whatever they touch: they cannot behave otherwise. They are fated to be divided among themselves and to sow dissension among others precisely because they are what they are — the dedicated enemies of all those attributes of the human personality that make for social unity.

The fatal tropism of the "liberal" mind is well illustrated by a series of articles in the *Rand Daily Mail* in which Professor Pistorius, a leading "liberal" and undoubtedly a man of intelligence and high seriousness, ac-

The Anatomy of Liberalism

curately identified the organic process of unity in his own Afrikaner people — and then repudiated it.

Much could be written about the Afrikaner people, but whatever they have, it is something that has its genesis in antiquity and it has brought them a long way — a keen sense of identity, an instinct to preserve those things that have served well in the past, a flair for preserving life's organic continuity — in other words, a prudent love of their traditions.

They have not yet learned the latest trick of falling for every vapid phrase that gains a momentary currency in the journalistic market places of the world; they do not succumb as willingly as "liberals" and Communists would have them do, to every change in the manufactured "climate of world opinion." They still have the nerve to have an opinion of their own.

As a people they have the power to sense, when they cannot yet reason it all out, the great danger that lies in the new dispersive temptations inherent in our present retrogressive civilization. They know how to read the signs and the warnings — the bewilderment and distress that today afflict so many uprooted people, especially in the great cities, who quite obviously haven't a clue to what they are doing or where they are going.

The Afrikaners' healthy instinct warns them that people who have been cut off from the past find themselves also cut off from the future.

Now Professor Pistorius described with perfect accuracy how nationalism in South Africa comes directly from the hearts of the people; how the leaders are picked for their close identification with this national impulse and put out

in front; how leaders are summarily discarded when they show a tendency to compromise or barter away some of that impulse.

This is what has always been the mark of a healthy society. Great leaders of the people everywhere have always been men who were best able to articulate and to give practical expression to the deep desire for self-preservation and self-fulfillment that is instinctive in human nature. That instinct is simply the will to live that distinguishes healthy and living organisms from the diseased and dying.

All this seemed intolerable to the mind of Professor Pistorius, who proceeded to denounce his own people as a "coelacanth society" — a clever metaphor to suggest a false analogy, a glib phrase to deny facts. But the "liberal" everywhere takes pride in repudiating his own heritage — in becoming the enemy of those from whom he was born.

The "Unity of Mankind"

Like the cells of a cancer in revolt against the organism that gave them being, the "liberals" can only destroy. They can destroy their nations from within in the same way as they can destroy a political party from within — just as they have destroyed the United Party in South Africa, the Democratic and Republican Parties in America. They have undermined the social fiber of most Western countries just as they have undermined American Constitutionalism.

But even though it is the nature of "liberals" to divide and destroy — even though they are dedicated to breaking up the organic unities of Western nations while working for the opposite

The Anatomy of Liberalism

effect among political Zionists and the black and brown peoples of the world — this does not mean that "liberals" do not believe in unity. Of course they do!

But as must be expected from persons noted for ingenuity in creating and pursuing the phantoms of their own minds, "liberals" have a special name for it. They call it the "Unity of Mankind."

Of course, they never make clear what they mean by that phrase. Nor do they ever define the other clichés which make up their vocabulary — clichés such as 'brotherhood,' 'democracy,' 'equality,' 'fundamental human rights,' 'social justice,' 'peace,' 'progress,' and all the other demoralizing jargon of what is called "world opinion."

Observers notice how these and other "liberal" clichés are creeping more and more into the editorial columns of newspapers and the pronouncements of politicians. But no one ever attempts to define the meaning of the clichés or to indicate the direction in which these vague words are intended to lead the public.

All that the man-in-the-street is permitted to know is that "liberals" have "morality" and "world opinion" on their side. He must not suspect that the "morality" is a figment imagined by persons who have openly repudiated morals, and that "world opinion" is what is created when a few "liberal" journalists in one country use the favorite clichés of a few journalists in another. The man-in-the-street is certainly not told that the "unity of mankind," "fundamental human rights," and similar clichés are designed to lead him blindfolded up the path of international socialism, to strip him of his

racial and national character, and finally to destroy his dignity and integrity as an individual human being.

The Unity of Totalitarians

The menace of the "liberal" lies precisely in the fact that behind the elaborate façade of his high-sounding clichés — sophistries cleverly designed to eradicate the concepts of racial integrity and national sovereignty, to strip Western man of his racial and national character, making of him a rootless cosmopolitan for whom life has become meaningless — all "liberal" activities are purposive and co-ordinated.

Their activities lead straight toward their goal of "One World: One Race," "One World: One Government" — which cannot be anything but a materialistic totalitarianism, a monstrous and barbarous tyranny. This is precisely the goal of the Communist Conspiracy.

Driven by their determination to impose on the Diversity of nature the Uniformity of their imaginary world, the "liberals" have willed the end, and do not shrink from the means. That the imposition of uniformity on diversity requires force — as bayonets, machine guns, and paratroopers were required at Little Rock — does not in the least deter "liberals." And as self-appointed keepers of the "world conscience," they think it "inhuman" and in the worst nationalist taste to mention the fact that when force is used to build paradises — multiracial, socialist, or other — there are inevitable consequences. Millions of poor wretches have been savagely slaughtered and starved to death to build the socialist paradises in Russia and China — and millions more will continue to be slaughtered to maintain those paradises. The price of

The Anatomy of Liberalism

"social justice" is massacre.

This helps to explain why "liberals," although always professing to be anti-Communist, are almost invariably to be found in the ranks of the militant anti-anti-Communists. For just as "liberals," though forever quarreling among themselves, hold basic beliefs which co-ordinate their efforts to undermine and destroy the fibre, integrity, and organic unity of every Western nation, so their quarrels with Communist theory do not prevent them from finding themselves on common ground with the Communists.

That is why the "liberals" are so frequently found in open collaboration with Communists. Merely as typical of innumerable instances, one may note the American sponsors of *Africa South*, a "liberal" journal that was published in Cape Town and dedicated to "building a multi-racial democracy" in South Africa. Of the fourteen American sponsors, ten had records of collaboration with Communist and/or Communist-front organizations in the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Despite this strange sponsorship, the journal was accepted by South African "liberals" as a pure-hearted "liberal" enterprise. Nor was this odd faith shaken when Ronald Segal, the editor of *Africa South* — fleeing, perhaps, when no man pursued — suddenly and secretly, in the company of the notorious Oliver Tambo, fled to Bechuanaland, and thence through Nyasaland and Tanganyika to Ghana, where he was instantly declared a "resident of Ghana" and provided with a passport on which he hastened to London. The periodical, now published in England, shows by its increasingly rabid tone that it is fully worthy of its American

sponsors, but the "liberals" still insist that its editor is a fellow "liberal" inflated with "enthusiasm for civil and individual liberty." Like the sunflower to the sun, the "liberal" always turns to the Left.

That is why, whenever a nation seeks to preserve itself by investigating and exposing the Communist Conspiracy, the tender-minded "liberals" immediately mobilize themselves to defend traitors and murderers.

Despite their verbose wrangling with Communists over the details of theory, the "liberals" are always drawn toward Communism because, having cut themselves off from their own culture, they have no place else to go. They are themselves persons who have turned their backs on, and are traitors to, their own people, their own kind, and their own traditions. They are inevitably lined up with the enemies of their nation and their race. They are the political Judas Goats of the modern Western world.

The Facts of "Liberalism"

If we look beyond the "liberal" verbiage and the professions of good intentions, which are doubtless sincere, since there need be no connection between cause and effect in a dream-world — if we look beyond these to the results of "liberal" action, we see four cardinal facts:

- (1) Contemporary "liberalism," like Communism, denies the validity of absolute moral values, whether arrived at prescriptively or rationally; and
- (2) "Liberalism," like Communism, rejects the spiritual bases upon which the unique being of the individual person is founded, and with *that* rejection it destroys the philosophical foun-

The Anatomy of Liberalism

dation which is the *sine qua non* of a free society; and

(3) "Liberalism," like Communism, applies to social and political realities the mad and impious schemes of the "social engineer," who, with calculation and the violence of centralized power, would damn, confine, control, and direct the free rhythms of human

life — would abrogate the laws of nature and abolish the design of God; and therefore

(4) Contemporary "liberalism" and Communism are, in effect, forces of the same revolutionary movement.

The only significant difference is that the "liberal" may not know where he is going, the Communist does.

They Pause To Remark

We ourselves have been quite cautious and restrained in all we have said so far about the present administration. But on September 23 the Hon. John J. Rhodes of Arizona had inserted in the *Congressional Record* a staff document of the Republican Policy Committee of the House of Representatives which runs for several pages, in small type, of criticisms of the New Frontiersmen. And we hope we shall not be considered "subversives of the right" in merely quoting from that document what it has to say about the administration's course, under the heading of

INTERNAL SUBVERSION

1. A massive campaign to destroy the House Un-American Activities Committee has gained momentum in recent months. The excellent film, "Operation Abolition," was downgraded by the Defense Department as an effective means of showing to our Armed Forces the real dangers posed by Communist political subversion.
2. The administration has given aid and comfort to the Communist conspiracy by "muzzling" the military leaders who have sought to warn of the dangers of communism and Communist infiltration.
3. The administration has given aid and comfort to the Communist conspiracy by opening the U. S. mails to a flood of Communist propaganda.
4. It has given aid and comfort to the Communist conspiracy by dealing in trade in strategic goods and subsidized commodities with the Soviet Union and/or its satellites.
5. The administration has shown an amazing naivete in dealing with the dangers of Communist subversion.
6. The administration has appointed to the vital and sensitive post of administrator of Security and Consular Affairs in the Department of State a political figure with absolutely no experience whatsoever in the security field.
7. The individual in charge of patronage at the Democratic National Committee has been shown to have had past Communist connections. But the national committee has defended its employment of him and downgraded the significance of his work.
8. Despite the fact that admission of Red China to the U. N. would strike a blow at liberty throughout the world, the administration has continually procrastinated on the issue and seriously endangered the Nation's position on the matter by ambiguous statements.

A REVIEW OF THE NEWS

This is a magazine of opinion. But opinion should be based on facts. Here are the facts for

SEPTEMBER, 1961

Friday, September 1

- The Soviet Union explodes an atomic device high above the ground, somewhere in Central Asia.
- President Tito of Communist Yugoslavia is host in Belgrade to a meeting of so-called "non-aligned" nations. President Nasser of the United Arab Republic and President Sukarno of Indonesia, together with Tito, are given credit for planning the conference for which no agenda has been announced. Other national leaders, participating in the Belgrade meeting, represent India, Ethiopia, Sudan, Cyprus, Lebanon, Ghana, Saudi Arabia, Republic of the Congo, Somaliland, Cuba, Mali, Yemen, Ceylon, Guinea, Iraq, Nepal, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Burma, Morocco, and the Algerian rebel government-in-exile.
- William Z. Foster, former chairman of the Communist Party in the United States, dies at the age of eighty in Moscow.
- Brazil's pro-Communist vice president, Joao Goulart, returns to Brazil from a trip to Communist China. While he was gone, President Quadros resigned, and Goulart, despite strong opposition, is expected to attempt to gain the presidency.
- Two of President Kennedy's sisters (Mrs. Eunice Shriver and Mrs. Jean Smith) arrive in Communist Poland for a six-day holiday visit.

Saturday, September 2

- Brazil's Chamber of Deputies passes a constitutional amendment, providing for limited presidential powers and placing control of the government into the office of the prime minister.
- Cuba's former president, Carlos Prio Socarras, announces that an anti-Castro, Cuban government-in-exile will be formed in the near future. Socarras predicts that United States aid will be given in a future attempt to overthrow Castro.
- A United States Navy spokesman reports that the last twenty of seventy Navy jet-training planes, which the United States is selling to Communist Yugoslavia, will start arriving in San Diego for shipment later this month. The planes which cost the United States about \$200,000 each were sold to Yugoslavia for \$17,000 each.
- The United States and the United Arab Republic sign an agreement whereby the United States will sell, to the government of Communist President Nasser, 900,000 tons of wheat and flour and 100,000 tons of maize. The sale price is sixty-four million dollars but the United States is granting a fifteen percent discount.

Sunday, September 3

- President Kennedy and Britain's Prime Minister Macmillan ask Soviet Premier Khrushchev to sign a pact, by September 9, which would outlaw nuclear-weapons testing in the atmosphere.

A Review Of The News

→ G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary of State, says that United States aid to African nations has "substantially" kept the Soviets out of Africa. Mr. Williams' views are included in testimony he gave to the House of Representatives Foreign Aid Appropriations Subcommittee on August 1, but held for release until today.

Monday, September 4

→ For the second time in four days, the Soviet Union explodes an atomic device in the atmosphere, somewhere in Central Asia.

→ A spokesman for the Haitian Government says that an "international" plot to assassinate Haiti's President Francois Duvalier has been smashed.

Tuesday, September 5

→ The United States Foreign Service seeks clerks and secretaries who are sincerely interested in "helping cement the bonds of friendship between nations."

→ President Kennedy announces that the United States, after a three-year abstinence, will resume testing nuclear weapons "in the laboratory and underground with no fallout." The President's action follows after he learns that for the third time in five days, the Soviets explode an atomic device in the atmosphere, somewhere in Central Asia.

→ The Secretary General of the Communist Party of Cuba, Blas Roca, has a cordial conference with Soviet Premier Khrushchev in the Kremlin.

→ Brazil's pro-Communist vice president, Joao Goulart, arrives at the capital, Brasilia, where he expects to be inaugurated as President.

→ After a secretive two-day trial, a Soviet military tribunal sentences Marvin William Makinen, an American citizen, to eight years imprisonment on charges of espionage.

Wednesday, September 6

→ The conference of so-called "non-aligned" nations at Belgrade, Yugoslavia, closes after six days. By unanimous agreement the delegates criticize the United States for continuing to maintain its Naval Base at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba, offer to support the Communist-led FLN rebellion in Algeria, demand the evacuation of French armed forces from Tunisia, and insist that Portugal grant independence to its colony in Angola.

→ For the fourth time in six days, the Soviet Union explodes an atomic device in the atmosphere, somewhere in Central Asia.

Thursday, September 7

→ President Kennedy asks Congress to allow the training of French NATO forces in the use of nuclear weapons.

→ Pro-Communist Joao Goulart is inaugurated as President of Brazil, succeeding pro-Communist Janio Quadros who resigned the office on August 25.

→ In identical letters to twelve major steel company executives, President Kennedy warns that, if steel prices increase this fall, "restrictive monetary and fiscal measures" by the United States Government may be necessary.

Friday, September 8

→ Tunisia's President Habib Bourguiba says he is willing to let France retain its naval base at Bizerte as long as there is danger of an outbreak of a major world war.

A Review Of The News

→ It is reported from Formosa that Nationalist Chinese jet-fighter planes have been ordered by United States military authorities not to fly patrol missions over the mainland of China. If the Chinese ignore the order, aircraft supplies, including spare parts and fuel, will be withheld by the United States.

→ Senator Thomas Dodd of Connecticut demands the immediate dismissal of Doctor Ralph K. White, chief of the Soviet bloc division in the United States Information Agency's office of Research and Analysis. Senator Dodd charges that Doctor White has "advanced the theme that we are not too different from the Communists."

→ At Stowe, Vermont, a Soviet scientist, Alexander V. Topchiev, sends a message to the seventh "Pugwash" conference from Soviet Premier Khrushchev who says that the Soviet government resumed the testing of nuclear weapons "with a heavy heart and deep regret."

→ French President Charles de Gaulle escapes an attempt upon his life when an eight-pound charge of explosives fails to go off. The attempt was made while de Gaulle's limousine was travelling between Nogent and Romilly, en route to Colombey-les-Deux Eglises.

Saturday, September 9

→ Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara announces that about forty thousand Regular Army troops will be sent to Europe in the near future.

→ Doctor Paul Samuelson, an economic adviser to President Kennedy, describes a balanced budget as "an economic road-block" to progress for the United States.

Sunday, September 10

→ The Soviet Union explodes two nu-

clear devices in the atmosphere. The United States Atomic Energy Commission estimates that the explosions were made on Novaya Zembla Island, in the Barents Sea.

→ In Havana, an anti-Castro demonstration of four thousand Cubans is halted by machine-gun fire.

→ Israel's Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion, predicts that in twenty years the Soviet Union will be a "democratic" country, and the United States will be a *welfare state*.

→ Brazil's Foreign Minister, Francisco San Dantas, describes Brazil's position with regard to Cuba, the admission of Communist China to the United Nations, and relations with the Communist bloc as "independent." Doctor San Dantas also says that negotiations to re-establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union will continue.

Monday, September 11

→ Canada's Prime Minister, John G. Diefenbaker, suggests that Berlin should become an international city under the control of the United Nations.

Tuesday, September 12

→ New York's Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, in testimony before the Interstate Commerce Commission, urges the creation of a federal Department of Transportation.

→ Indonesia's Communist President, Sukarno, and Mali's Communist President, Mobido Keita, urge President Kennedy to work for an East-West summit meeting. The two Communist leaders have participated in and represent the conference of the so-called "non-aligned" nations which met in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, from September 1 to September 6.

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The Personal Income Tax, which was devised by Karl Marx and was prescribed by him in the Communist Manifesto for the self-destruction of America, is the source of all evil. It can, and must be, repealed if America is to remain a nation of free people.

COTTON IS THE MIRACLE FIBER
Combed, yarn-dyed, high-styled fancies for
men's, women's, and children's wear

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100 PARK AVENUE

OCTO

A Review Of The News

→ For the seventh time in twelve days, the Soviet Government explodes a nuclear device in the atmosphere.

Wednesday, September 13

→ In the Republic of the Congo at Elisabethville, the capital of Katanga Province, United Nations troops engage in street fighting against Katanga forces. Katanga's President Moise Tshombe, who has resisted unification under the pro-Communist Leopoldville régime, flees to safety. The ruthless action by the United Nations against Tshombe's anti-Communist régime coincides with a visit to the Republic by the United Nations Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjöld.

→ For the eighth and ninth times in thirteen days, the Soviet Government explodes atomic devices in the atmosphere, somewhere in Central Asia.

→ It is reported from Washington that the Kennedy Administration is prepared to offer Henry Cabot Lodge an appointment to a high position in either the Department of State or Defense Department. It is also reported that Mr. Lodge, a former United States ambassador to the United Nations, is willing to accept such an appointment.

→ Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Communist Party in Hungary, succeeds Ferenc Muennich as prime minister.

Thursday, September 14

→ For the tenth time in fourteen days, the Soviet Government explodes an atomic device in the atmosphere, somewhere in Central Asia.

→ India's Defense Minister, V. K. Krishna Menon, defends the Soviet Union and criticizes the United States in the current controversy over nuclear testing. Menon says that underground tests are

more harmful than the atmospheric tests which are being conducted by the Soviets.

→ Doctor Gustave M. Gilbert says that Soviet Premier Khrushchev "is probably nowhere near as neurotic as Hitler was. He can probably be dealt with on a combination of force and reason." Doctor Gilbert, author of *Nuremberg Diary*, is presently chairman of the department of psychology at Long Island University in Brooklyn, New York.

Friday, September 15

→ President Kennedy says that the United States will not enter negotiations with the Soviet Union on the question of Berlin "under ultimatums or threats."

→ In the Republic of the Congo, while fierce fighting is taking place between United Nations forces and those of Katanga Province's President, Moise Tshombe, Doctor Conor Cruise O'Brien announces that Katanga Province is united with the central Congolese government. Doctor O'Brien is the personal representative in Katanga of the United Nations Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjöld.

→ For the first time since 1958, the United States explodes a nuclear device. The test occurs underground at the Atomic Energy Commission's base in Nevada.

Saturday, September 16

→ For the second time in two days, the United States explodes a nuclear device at the Atomic Energy Commission's underground testing site in Nevada. For the twelfth time in sixteen days, the Soviet Union explodes a nuclear device in the atmosphere, somewhere in Central Asia.

BULLETS

It is with governments as with religion — the form often survives the substance of the faith.

Melville Fuller (1903)

No poor person in all history has ever been attracted to Communism because of his poverty.

Rev. F. C. Falque

Today we are suffering from an overdose of expertocracy.

Our Own Discovery

I believe in getting into hot water. It keeps you clean.

Sullivan Brothers

Small boy explains Father's Day: "It's just like Mother's Day only you don't spend so much on the present."

We Don't Know, But We Didn't Make It Up

Your driving license seems to be valid, Madame. Now suppose you tell me how in the world you ever got it.

British Officer,

Quoted In Liverpool Echo

The girls are so beautiful. It is sad to think that twenty years from now they'll all be five years older.

Will Rogers

Employees in Section A will take their sick leaves in June and July according to the schedule below.

Notice On Washington Bulletin Board

Behold, the relics of Rome, the image of her pristine greatness! Neither time nor the barbarian can boast the merit of this stupendous destruction: It was perpetrated by her own citizens; by the most illustrious of her sons!

Petrarch, Quoted By Rice P. Lynn

A pink — a person who's too yellow to be red.

Tom Anderson

Country: A damp sort of place where all sorts of birds fly about uncooked.

Joseph Wood Krutch

A ship is safe when it is in harbor. But that is not what ships are for.

Alabama Temperance Alliance

Sukarno, Castro, Nasser, and most other Soviet puppets should all wear signs reading: MADE IN AMERICA.

Another Of Our Own Suggestions

They tell me that Congress is one of our best institutions. Would you tell me what I have to do to get into it as I have spent most of my life in institutions. Please excuse me for writing in crayon as they don't allow us to have anything sharp in here.

A Letter To The Congress Information Bureau

W. C. Fields had a court at his home and would play tennis for hours, holding a racquet in one hand and a martini in the other.

Fred Allen

Working girl to taxi driver: "Could you back up a few blocks driver? I'm ten cents short on the fare."

D'Allessio

The new jet age can be defined as "breakfast in London, luncheon in New York, dinner in San Francisco, and baggage in Buenos Aires."

Seattle Post-Intelligencer

More things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of.

Alfred Lord Tennyson

A Review Of The News

Sunday, September 17

→ Former Premier of Turkey, Adnan Menderes, is executed after being convicted of crimes against the Turkish constitution.

Monday, September 18

→ Belgian's Foreign Minister, Paul Henri Spaak, arrives in Moscow where he and Soviet Premier Khrushchev will discuss the status of West Berlin.

→ The United Nations Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjöld, is killed in a plane crash, seven and a half miles from Ndola, Northern Rhodesia.

Tuesday, September 19

→ United States Senator George D. Aiken of Vermont says, "If we get past November 1, we won't have war. War is not inevitable but the situation is dangerous — very dangerous."

→ In a referendum, Jamaica votes to leave the West Indies Federation. The move makes the future independence of the remainder of the federation (Antigua, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Trinidad) doubtful.

→ General Lucius D. Clay arrives in West Berlin as President Kennedy's personal representative.

→ The Soviet Union's Foreign Minister, Andrei Gromyko, requests that the United Nations General Assembly place on its agenda the question of admitting Communist China to the United Nations.

Wednesday, September 20

→ The United States Congress authorizes President Kennedy to share with France classified information on the training of troops in the use of nuclear weapons.

→ Mongi Slim of Tunisia is elected to the presidency of the United Nations General Assembly.

→ The United States Attorney General, Robert F. Kennedy, resigns from the private Metropolitan Club of Washington because of the club's policy of having no Negroes admitted to membership or as guests.

Thursday, September 21

→ Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko begin a series of talks, during which the two men are expected to discuss the status of West Berlin and a successor to the late Secretary General of the United Nations, Dag Hammarskjöld.

→ President Kennedy signs legislation which gives his "peace corps" permanent status.

→ Colonel Barney Oldfield reports that at least 152 Soviet "fishing" trawlers, equipped with elaborate electronic apparatus for tracking and observing, are in or near United States territorial waters. Colonel Oldfield is Chief of Information of the North American Air Defense Command.

Friday, September 22

→ The *Reuters* news agency reports that the bulk of Cuban sugar passing through the Panama Canal en route to Communist China and the Soviet Union's Pacific ports is being carried by Norwegian, Greek, British, and West German freighters.

→ For the fifteenth time in twenty-two days, the Soviets explode a nuclear device in the atmosphere.

→ At a cocktail party in Berlin, General Lucius Clay says that West Germany

THE WORLD

is teetering precariously on the precipice of a Dark Age.

The battle against this tragedy is the battle against Communism. It is primarily a battle in the realm of thought and it is there that it must be won, for opinion rules the world.

In immediate effectiveness on public opinion, tracts are one of the most potent instruments that can be employed, for most people, until their interest is aroused—and sometimes not even then—will not take the trouble to read books. Moreover, tracts, unlike an editorial or article buried in the midst of other matter, when received, command exclusive attention.

The tracts listed below are calculated to be the opening wedge to ALL THE KNOWLEDGE THAT IS NECESSARY TO DEFEAT COMMUNISM.

No single person is going to win this battle for every one's effort is, of necessity, very limited. But, if every individual who really knows what a hell socialism is will do his utmost to convince only two others of the importance of defeating Communism, and they in turn do likewise, the effort can, in a surprisingly short time, become irresistible.

THE FOLLOWING TRACTS ARE AVAILABLE

1—Why are we losing? 2—Facsimile of letter sent to Rep. Walter H. Judd. 3—Raising the minimum wage. 4—Facsimile of letter sent to Senator Barry Goldwater. 5—Review and comment. 6*—Two More Yaltas. 7*—Actions Speak Louder. 8*—Warning!!!

Single copies 15¢; 15 for \$1.00; 125 for \$5.00; 1,000 for \$20.00

*Four page tracts: single copy 20¢; 10 for \$1.00; 100 for \$5.00; 500 for \$20.00; 1,000 for \$30.00.

THUGS AND COMMUNISTS by Louis Zoul \$5.10

A very impressive document. *Henry Hazlitt.*

This is a real contribution in the battle for men's minds. My congratulations for an excellent work of research and enlightenment. *Adolphe Menjou.*

You have written a masterpiece. *Matthew Cvetic, former F.B.I. Counterspy, and author of "The Big Decision."*

One of the most unusual books coming to our attention. *News-Herald, Borger, Texas.*

A very good book. *J. P. Hamilus, Professor of Economics and Administrative-Director, Université De Sciences Comparées, Luxembourg.*

PUBLIC OPINION, Box 4044A, L. I. City 4, L. I., N. Y. Enclosed find \$

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

A Review Of The News

should face the reality that two Germanys exist. The exact wording, but not the import, of General Clay's remarks is disputed by British, American, French, and German correspondents, who heard President Kennedy's special representative.

Saturday, September 23

→ Thurgood Marshall, special counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is appointed by President Kennedy to be a Federal Judge in the Second Circuit Court of Appeals (New York, Connecticut, and Vermont).

Sunday, September 24

→ Guinea and Communist China sign an agreement whereby Chinese engineers and technicians will work on building projects in Guinea.

Monday, September 25

→ In the Soviet Union, a fourteen-year-old Negro girl from Newark, New Jersey begins classes in Moscow to help fight segregation in the United States. The girl is a recipient of a scholarship from Soviet Premier Khrushchev, and her trip was arranged by a New Jersey organization, the "Society for the Promotion of Education of Negroes in the Soviet Union."

→ The World Federation of Scientific Workers, a Communist front, calls for a "neutralized" West Berlin to avoid the danger of nuclear warfare.

→ The Japanese Government files a protest with the United States Government over the American resumption of underground tests of nuclear weapons.

Tuesday, September 26

→ President Kennedy signs a bill by

which an agency for arms control and disarmament is created.

→ Chester Bowles, Undersecretary of State, says that the desegregation of American restaurants used by foreign diplomats is of "urgent" importance to United States foreign policy.

→ In the Republic of the Congo, two jet fighter planes arrive at Stanleyville to help give the United Nations forces air superiority over the anti-Communist forces of Katanga Province's President, Moise Tshombe. The American-built planes are on loan to the United Nations from Ethiopia's Air Force.

Wednesday, September 27

→ Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt says that "if we (the United States) want disarmament, I think admission of the Communist Chinese (to the United Nations) is the only way you can have it."

→ Former Vice President Richard M. Nixon announces that he will be a candidate for the Republican gubernatorial nomination in California in 1962.

→ Six hundred Negro youths battle about a dozen police outside the Fourth Precinct Police Station in Newark, New Jersey. The rioters were protesting the arrest of a seventeen-year-old Negro boy who had resisted arrest and disarmed a policeman.

→ John J. McCone, former head of the Atomic Energy Commission, succeeds Allen W. Dulles as Director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

→ United States Senator Jacob K. Javits of New York suggests that former President Dwight D. Eisenhower be made interim Secretary General of the United

A Review Of The News

Nations, until a successor to the late Dag Hammarskjöld is selected by the General Assembly in 1963.

Thursday, September 28

→ Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt informs an audience at Wake Forest College in North Carolina that "the Soviet Union can't offer spiritual leadership."

→ In Syria, a military junta seizes control of the government. The revolt is, in effect, against the régime of the United Arab Republic's President, Gamal Abdel Nasser. Syria and Egypt merged on February 21, 1958, under the leadership of the Egyptian President, Nasser.

→ The United States Department of Labor decides to boycott an annual conference of state employment directors because this year's meeting in Atlanta, Georgia will be held in a "segregated" hotel.

Friday, September 29

→ In Conakry, the capital of Guinea, President Sékou Touré dedicates a Soviet-made radio transmitter which is named the "Voice of the Revolution."

Saturday, September 30

→ J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, reports that members of the Communist Party in the United States are being advised by the Party's General Secretary, Gus Hall, to destroy any and all documents which could be used by the United States Government to prosecute them.

→ The mayors of twenty-three United States cities arrive in Berlin "on a mission to bring words of confidence and goodwill to the city of Berlin, its (Socialist) mayor and its people."

→ President Kennedy signs into law a foreign aid bill providing for \$4,200,000,000, the largest sum for the program in eight years.

We Pause To Remark

Somebody is always sending us items about Cuba. (And thanks—let 'em come!). And here is one which, having originally appeared as part of a clipping from the *Wall Street Journal*, is now old, but which many of our readers may not have seen.

Fidel Castro, his brother Raoul Castro, and Che Guevara find themselves on a raft in the middle of the ocean. The raft begins to sink. The question is: Who is saved?

The answer: Cuba!

And a still older item is the clipping sent us last year, from a French paper, concerning an announcement by the New China Agency, that a new contract had just been signed between the "People's China" and Cuba, for the purchase by Red China of eighty thousand tons of Cuban sugar. Now there, as our correspondent suggested, is a contract between parties whose word is really as good as their bond. Both being worth exactly nothing!

AMERICAN OPINION

“ONE DOZEN CANDLES”

“It is better to light one candle than to curse the darkness.”

REPRINT SERIES

Dear Reader:

You may be one of the millions of patriotic Americans who do not think that the Communist Conspiracy has reached so far or become so dangerous as some of us believe. And you may have become tired of the efforts of friends of yours, whom you consider "alarmists," to ram down your throat all kinds of books, pamphlets, and printed speeches on the subject. Any such attitude is certainly understandable.

Most of us, at one time, felt exactly as you do now. It was only with great reluctance, and usually after much serious study, that we ourselves reached conclusions which now frighten us — and perhaps annoy you. So please consider at least the possibility that *we could be right*. And please consider further that it is your duty to find out; a very solemn duty to your country, your family, and yourself.

If and when the United States, as the last bastion of freedom, is taken over by the Communists, the terror they will use to enforce, consolidate, and maintain their rule will be both more cruel and more extensive than anything the human race has ever before known or imagined. And our children who survive will one day certainly ask: "What did my parents do to prevent this slavery for America, which they had already seen imposed on so much of their whole world?"

So we are proposing here a simple and most effective way for you to perform a duty which you cannot escape. We have assembled, in one package, inexpensive reprints of twelve different books, each of which tells some part of the true history of the past thirty years. Together they offer an education — compact and sketchy, but still adequate — in the methods, progress, and menace of the Communist advance. We suggest that you read all twelve of these reprints, preferably in the order indicated by our listing. There is no easier way to satisfy yourself in all honesty as to where truth leaves off, and alarmism begins, with regard to the future as a projection of the past.

Do not take our word, nor that of anybody else, as to the dependability of these books or the qualifications of their authors. You be the sole judge, from the contents of the books themselves. And there is one promise we can make you with assurance: If and when you can say "I have honestly and carefully read ONE DOZEN CANDLES all the way through, and I still am not convinced," then even your most rabid anti-Communist friends will stop bothering you with literature or argument about their obsession. But we can also warn you with assurance: Long before you have finished reading these twelve reprints, you probably will be jumping up and down in amazement and alarm, exactly like the rest of us. For you will have learned the truth. And you will not again know any real peace of mind until that truth, by helping you and millions of others to destroy the Communist conspiracy, will again have set you free.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

Robert Welch, Series Editor
On Behalf Of Your "Alarmist" Friends

ONE DOZEN CANDLES

"It is better to light one candle than to curse the darkness."

1. *While You Slept*, by John T. Flynn.

Will show you how so many developments, of huge and tragic significance, could have been brought to pass without your being aware of the forces behind them.

2. *The Web Of Subversion*, by James Burnham.

With names, dates, and specific facts this book reviews some part of the Communist infiltration into our government itself which had already been exposed, before the executive order of May 17, 1954, issued by President Eisenhower, made such further exposures impossible.

3. *America's Retreat From Victory*, by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

Few Americans will believe this book until they have read it. But few fail to believe after they have read it. The almost incredible but fully documented story of George Catlett Marshall.

4. *Odyssey Of A Fellow Traveler*, by Dr. J. B. Matthews.

Now we go back two decades, to see how hundreds of "united fronts" were created, manipulated, and used by the Communists to condition the American people to be led by Stalin's agents. Written by a misguided idealist who helped to create these fronts and then, completely disillusioned, did all he could to expose them.

5. *Shanghai Conspiracy*, by Major General Charles A. Willoughby.

The foundation laid, Stalin uses his worldwide espionage apparatus, as well as propaganda pressures, to bring on World War II, and to get the United States into that war as his ally. General Willoughby, a former Chief of MacArthur's "Intelligence," writes from direct personal knowledge and experience.

6. *From Major Jordan's Diaries*, by George Racey Jordan.

We are now ready to look again at American power—throughout the greatest war in history and its aftermath—being commanded by Communists to serve the purposes of Stalin. Here is one tiny but important segment of the whole terrible tableau.

7. *I Saw Poland Betrayed*, by Ambassador Arthur Bliss Lane.

One use by the Communists of American money, prestige, and productive might was to enable them, within five years after the war was over, to enslave all the countries of Eastern Europe. Here is a case history in that brutal subjugation.

8. *The People's Pottage*, by Garet Garrett.

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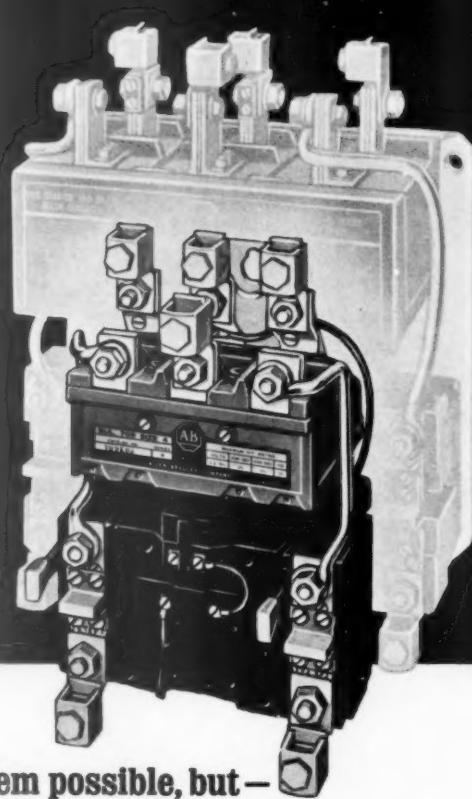
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